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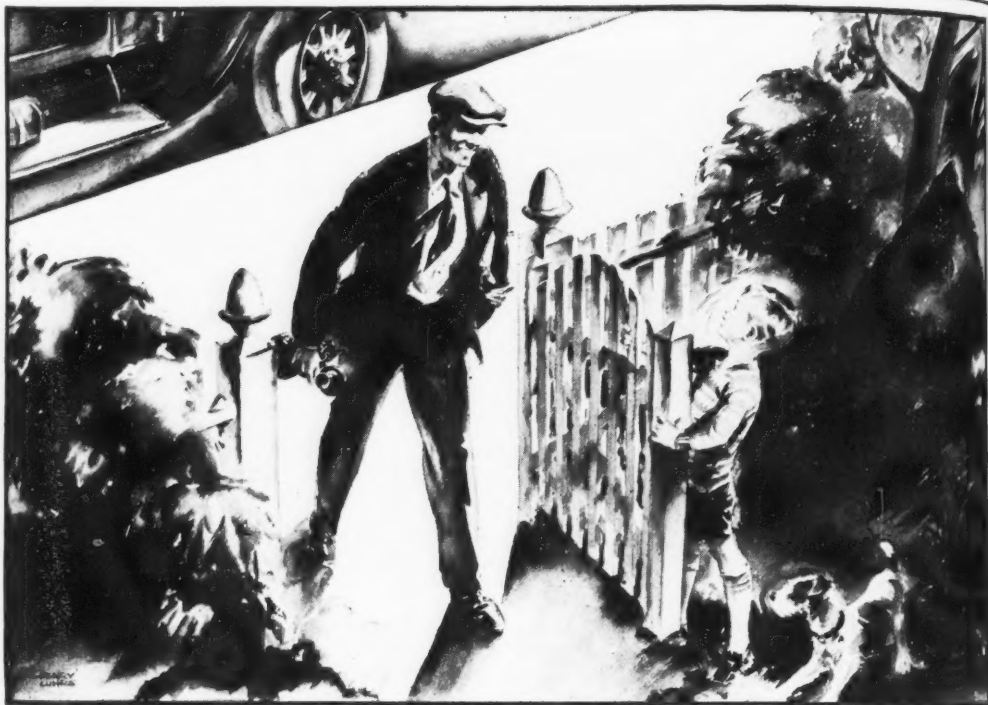
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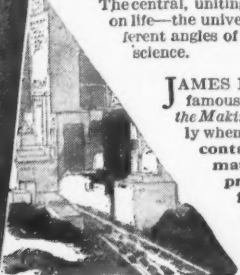
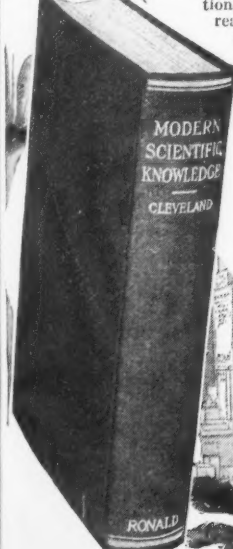
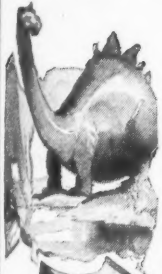
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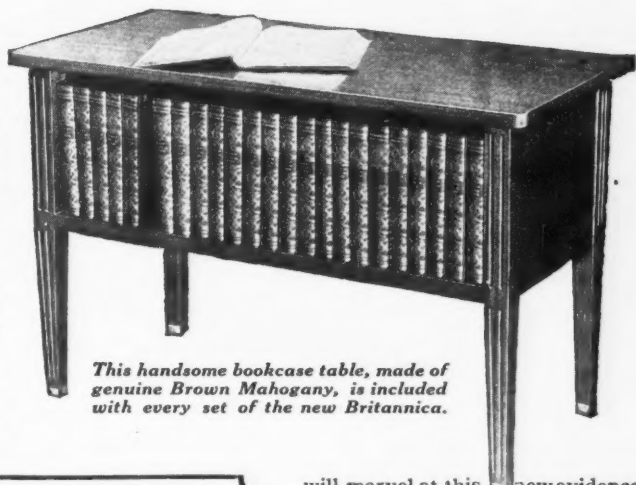
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VOL. XXXI

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NO. 2

Drama of the Reconstruction Era

By DAVID S. MUZZEY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SEVERAL American historians, including Schouler, Rhodes, Burgess, Dunning, Fleming and Nevins, have described the sordid years of the Reconstruction Era from the death of Lincoln to the inauguration of Hayes, and the numerous biographers of the public men of the period, as well as monographs on the reconstruction of the separate Southern States, have contributed their details to the grewsome picture; but it is certain that hundreds of American readers will get their impression of the period from these graphic pages* of the journalist-historian of the staff of *The New York World* to one who will derive it from the biographies of the professional doctors of philosophy. For Mr. Bowers is a dramatist. He constructs a plot and marshals his actors on the stage with a fine sense of Thespian values. He takes you by the hand, like Dante's guide, and leads you through the murky air of this inferno of American politics, introducing you to one after another of the heroic, pathetic and despicable figures whom he summons from the limbo of a half a century to tell their own story under his skillful stage directions. He never deviates into the discussion of political theory or constitutional law in the abstract, though the subject of his plot is the revolution which swept away the political and constitutional bases of the pre-war, States' rights, agrarian economy which had been ushered in by the triumph of Jefferson at the polls at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is the movement of the revolution, the picturesque personalities, the clash of wills, the exciting events that he features, as Carlyle did in his *French*

Revolution (parallels with which he often cites), rather than the philosophic and social theories which interested De Tocqueville and Taine.

Mr. Bowers's book is surcharged with "atmosphere." From the opening paragraph describing the dismal, drizzling morning of April 5, 1865, when the tolling church bells of Washington announced the death of Lincoln, to the closing scene, just a dozen years later, when Daniel H. Chamberlain, "white-faced and disillusioned," rode from the doors of the State House at Columbia "to his political Saint Helena," there is not a dull or colorless page. One pen-picture follows another. Now it is the Republican caucus planning the wreck of Lincoln's policies almost before Lincoln's body had become cold; now a striking portrait of the grim, implacable Thad Stevens, holding court and issuing commands from the old armchair in the parlor of the three-and-a-half-story brick house in Lancaster, Pa., like a monarch on his throne. We are invited to the gallery of the House to look down upon the assembled Thirty-ninth Congress and to have the leaders vividly portrayed, as Helen pointed out the Greek heroes to old Priam from the walls of Troy. Now we mingle with the rioters and the panic-stricken citizens of New Orleans in the July massacre, and again with the élite of Washington in the crowded ballrooms of the queens of society, the bewitching Kate Chase Sprague, the stately Mrs. Fish, and the extravagant beauty who shared the name and the thievery of Grant's Secretary of War. We sit with the politicians and lobbyists, amid the fumes of tobacco and champagne, in the private rooms of John Welcher's walnut-paneled restaurant, while they concoct their schemes to thrust Andrew Johnson

**The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln*. By Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge, 1929. Pp. xxii, 567. \$5.

Continued on Page 216

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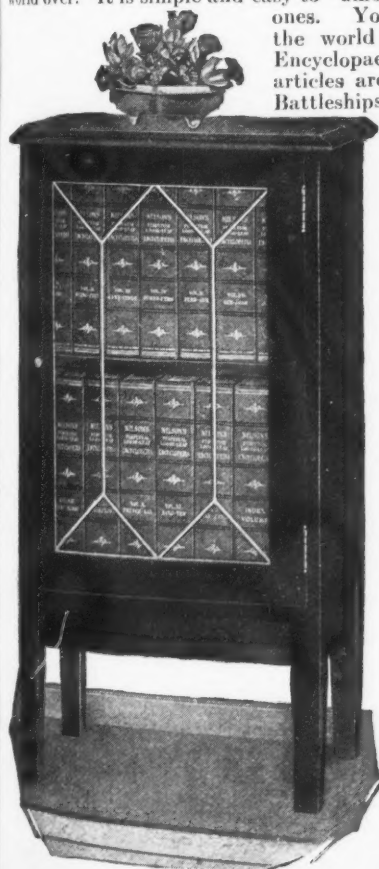
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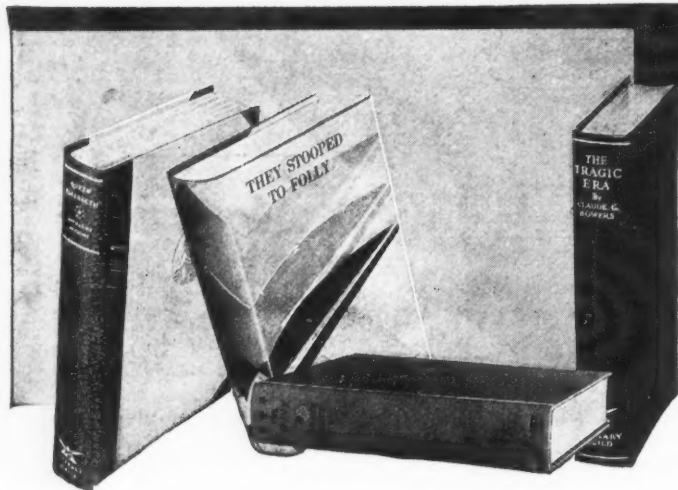
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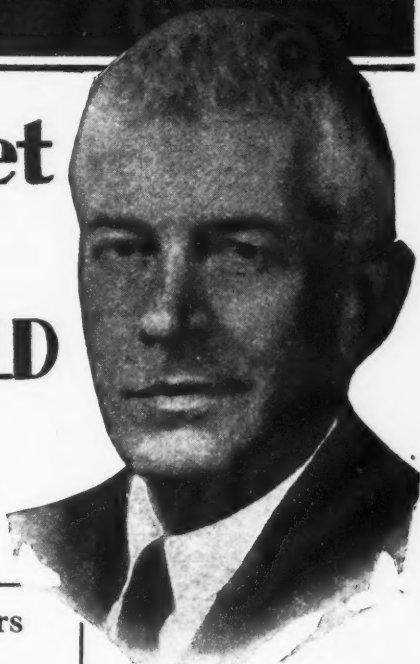
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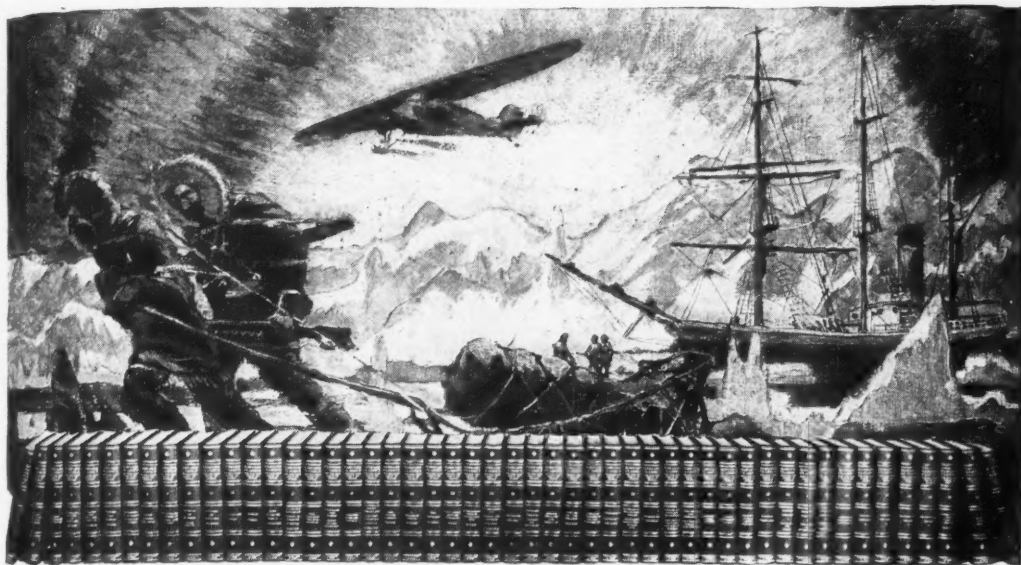
Continued from Page 212

out of the White House or to transfer the money appropriated for the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad to their own pockets. We attend a session of the Reconstruction Legislature at the capital of South Carolina, "where Moses, the Speaker, looks down upon members mostly black, brown or mahogany, some of the type seldom seen outside the Congo," while "chuckles, guffaws, the noisy cracking of peanuts, and raucous voices disturb the parliamentary dignity of the scene."

Despite its dramatic quality, however, Mr. Bowers's book is not the product of a lively imagination untrammelled by concern for the facts, or of a talent for graphic narrative untempered by the testimony of the sources. The author not only gives evidence in the bibliography of his source material and manuscript collections of an extraordinarily thorough study of the politics of the period which he describes, but he shows on every page that he has mastered and assimilated the material which he has used. However, just because *The Tragic Era* is bound to be so widely and deservedly read, it is most important, while appreciating the book and expressing hearty concurrence in its main conclusions, to call attention to some obvious defects which are perhaps inseparable from its qualities. First of all, Mr. Bowers is a partisan unabashed. He is an Indiana Democrat, and does not care who knows it. His opinion of the Republican party, if his key-note speech at the Houston Convention of 1928 may be taken as typical, is as sweepingly condemnatory as the Republican opinion of the "Copperheads" in the period of which he writes. It is not surprising, then, that he seems to enjoy portraying the radical Republicans of the '60s and '70s in unrelieved black. No reputable historian, to be sure, would care to file a brief in praise of Butler, Logan, Stevens, or Bingham. But not all the Republicans who voted for the reconstruction acts or the impeachment of President Johnson were fools or knaves or groveling cowards who cringed under the lash of Thaddeus Stevens. Again, it is true, that Republican historians have failed to give proper attention to "the able leaders of the minority in Congress" and to "the brilliant and colorful spokesmen of the South;" and Mr. Bowers has done well to correct this oversight. Nevertheless, we doubt whether many of his fellow-citizens, at least outside Indiana, would

agree with Mr. Bowers on the superlative statesmanship of Daniel W. Voorhees, "the Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," or on the crushing victory of Benjamin Hill of Georgia in his debate with James G. Blaine. Furthermore, Mr. Bowers has written only the political history of the era. Even his descriptions of Washington society and of the conditions in the Southern States are filled with politics. We advise the reader, after finishing Mr. Bowers's exciting pages, to turn to the quieter, but no less interesting volume of Mr. Bowers's associate on the *World* staff, Professor Allan Nevins, which treats of exactly the same period, under the title *The Emergence of Modern America*. Professor Nevins refers only incidentally to politics. The names of Stevens and Sumner do not appear in his book. A single sentence records the impeachment and trial of Johnson. But under such chapter headings as "Urban Living and Routes of Travel," "The West at Work," "The Broadening of American Culture," "Humanitarian Striving," he presents a picture of the social, economic, and cultural development of the country, in which such names as Edison, Bell, Eliot, Field, Whitman, Henry Adams, Andrew White and Bronson Howard replace the wrangling politicians at Washington.

Mr. Bowers's ardor sometimes leads him into exaggeration. He must have forgotten the insults heaped on Washington in the *Aurora*, for example, when he says that "a more outrageous castigation of a President" than the Wade-Davis Manifesto "had never been written" (p. 5), and that Johnson was "the most maligned of the nation's greatest servants" (p. 460). The "venerable Franklin Pierce" (p. 13) was only 60 years old in the Spring of 1865, and the reconstruction Constitution roused the energies rather than "sounded the death-knell of the South" (p. 218). Mr. Bowers also mixes his metaphors now and then, and has an exasperating habit of leaving participles hanging in midair: "Baptized by a Catholic sister, the burial service was read by a Lutheran minister" (p. 223); "negotiated by Orville E. Babcock, there had been no consultation with the Secretary of State" (p. 296); "arrested for bribery and taken before a trial jury, Patterson's friends created a commotion during which he escaped" (p. 392). "Before the pavements of New York resounded with the footsteps of the sleeping people" (p. 523) suggests that the citizens of the metropolis were confirmed somnambulists. Final-



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ly, the Fourteenth Amendment did not "disfranchise the leaders of the people" (p. 140) in the South, but only excluded them from holding Federal or State offices.

The History of Human Culture

By BERNHARD J. STERN

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

HERE is a book* that ought to rival in popularity any contemporary best seller. Although not written to pamper the reader's love of the bizarre, exotic and extraordinary, every other page of the book will provoke exclamations of startled surprise and chuckles of satisfying laughter. For the book is a lively commentary on the universality of man's follies and perversities, an ironic, trenchant exposition of the intellectual kinship of civilized man and the savage. And who does not delight in being made conscious of the foibles of mankind, if the shaft is not too personal?

A leading American anthropologist has here taken up the fight against the puerile conceits of smug ignorant men and the obscurantist theories of scientists who foster these vanities. By the simple expedient of showing human culture in perspective, by setting savage and civilized practices in close juxtaposition, he pierces the clanish provincialisms and shallow, swaggering ethnocentrisms of civilized man. In all phases of culture, in the securing, preparation and use of food, in housing, dress and fashion, crafts and industries, sex, marriage and the family, prestige and etiquette, education, writing, art, religion, hygiene and medicine, and science "the savage appears as rational as ourselves—that is, not quite rational." Everywhere man exhibits the same tendency to grope along, only half adjusted to his environment, resisting change by clinging to irrational devices because they are traditional, combining careful logic and practice with arrant whimsies. Even contemporary scientists reveal that they have not broken the bonds that link them in psychology to savage man. Their pathetic failure to ex-

tend their scientific outlook into all aspects of their lives, their cowardice in the face of social pressure, their rabid emotionalism during the last war demonstrate their close relationship to the custom-ridden, compartment-minded primitives.

Popular concepts of the inferior morality, arts and techniques of primitive men are dispelled by authentic accounts of primitive life taken from the author's own field experiences and those of other careful ethnologists. Intriguing are the manifestations of mechanical and artistic ingenuity which primitive people display; naïve are many of the attendant beliefs and actions. That the difference between them and us is merely a matter of cultural accumulation over a period of time and not a difference in psychological attitude is fully established by a wealth of data on the behavior of our immediate forefathers as well as of our contemporaries. Certainly the contentions of Levy-Bruhl, so comforting to the inflated ego of civilized men, that the savage mind is "pre-logical" as contrasted with civilized man's "logical" mind, and other more brazen rationalizations of imperialism and the "white man's burden" have little to sustain them in the light of the evidence given.

The book is not primarily an excursion into anthropological theory, but the glib, oft propounded explanation of cultural differences in terms of geography and heredity are disposed of briefly with skillful precision and convincing data. "Geography does not create arts and customs; it merely offers opportunities or bars them." The history of culture is replete with illustrations of man's failure to take advantage of the materials which his geographic environment afforded. Hereditary differences cannot account for the startling changes in culture that have taken place in regions where no biological changes have occurred, as, for example, in modern Japan. A particular culture must be explained historically, in the light of a people's contacts with and borrowings from other cultures. The bulk of the present volume is devoted to tracing the origins of our own patterns to their sources. And how little remains that can be proclaimed the original creation of the modern mind!

Lowie has given us a masterful model of how to humanize knowledge. He has not presented a vapid distillation of the conclusions of scientists in the belief that the populace will suffer from mental indigestion if confronted with true scholarship. He has, however, carefully avoided the pedantic terminology with which the science

**Are We Civilized: Human Culture in Perspective.* By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

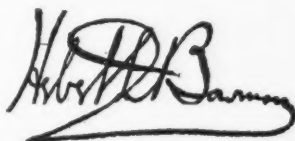
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Edison's Authorized Biography

By EDGAR C. WHEELER

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, *Popular Science Monthly*

IN October of this year the world celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the invention of the incandescent electric lamp, paying tribute to its creator, Thomas Alva Edison, the greatest living inventor. With Light's Golden Jubilee the public accords to the "Wizard of Menlo Park" a place among the immortals for his boundless gifts to mankind. Coincident with impressive ceremonies and flashing electrical displays there appears a monumental two-volume book,* which snatches Edison from the clouds of popular fancy, and presents him to the world exactly as he is—not a "wizard" at all, but an intensely human man. He is thus saved to posterity from the haze of fable, and preserved for all time in flesh and blood. In this, the authorized biography of the inventor, we find the intimate, personal story of his struggles, adventures and achievements, from his youthful days as a newsboy and cellar chemist, through his wanderings as a telegrapher and years of ceaseless experiment and invention, down to the triumphs which he enjoys today.

These two volumes of more than a thousand pages are packed with homely anecdotes and reminiscences. In a sense they make the work an autobiography, for many of the episodes are related in Edison's own words. Others are supplied by old-time associates. All are arranged in a smoothly running narrative by the authors, Frank Lewis Dyer and Thomas Commerford Martin, with the collaboration of William H. Meadowcroft, who for

some forty-eight years has been Edison's right-hand man, and for many years his personal secretary. Having scrutinized and sketched Edison's personal and professional life, the authors, in one of the later chapters, attempt to answer the questions about him which almost every one has asked—What are the reasons for Edison's success? What are the characteristics that have enabled him to accomplish so much more than most men? Their answer is: "A strong body, a clear and active mind, a developed imagination, a capacity of great mental and physical concentration, an iron-clad nervous system that knows no ennui, an intense optimism, and courageous self-confidence. Any one having these capacities developed to the same extent, with the same opportunities for use, would probably accomplish as much." This estimate is followed by an extraordinary explanation of Edison's long working hours without sleep, for which, perhaps, the public knows him best: "There is a peculiarity about him that so far as is known has never been referred to before in print. He seems to be conscientiously afraid of appearing indolent, and in consequence subjects himself regularly to unnecessary hardship. Working all night is seldom necessary, or until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, yet even now he persists in such tests upon his strength. How can such a trait * * * be explained except by the fact that, evidently, he felt the need of schooling in industry—that under no circumstances must he allow a thought of indolence to enter his mind."

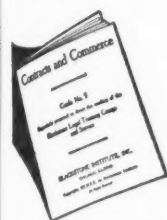
The outstanding quality which shines through every one of the related episodes in a crowded career is Edison's undimmed optimism which carried him over obstacles that might have crushed a less cheerful man. To readers of these volumes who have thought of Edison only as a successful inventor, it may be a surprise to learn that for some forty years he was also a manufacturer and director of industries which his genius created. His greatest inventions, such as the incandescent lamp, the telephone transmitter, the phonograph and the storage battery, were conceived and developed primarily as commercial enterprises. More than once, in the conduct of his ventures, Edison met with reverses which all but wiped him out financially. Yet always, when difficulties seemed insurmountable and he was hardest pressed, we are told, he was at his cheeriest. An instance in point is the little-known story of his venture in ore milling. In the early '80s of the last

**Edison—His Life and Inventions*. By Frank Lewis Dyer and Thomas Commerford Martin, with the collaboration of William Henry Meadowcroft. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$10.

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century he conceived the idea of competing with Michigan iron mines by developing a process for the magnetic separation of iron from low-grade ore deposits in the East. Within ten years he had invented huge rock crushers, magnetic separators and other automatic machinery, and had established an ore concentrating plant at Edison, N. J. Into this enterprise he poured not only his ingenuity and labor but most of the fortune his previous inventions had brought him. But just as he was ready to supply the eastern steel trade with his product and seemed assured of success, the discovery of the rich Mesaba ore deposits in Minnesota so slashed the market price of crude ore that he was forced to close his plant. His investment was swept away. Undaunted, he immediately turned to other lines—to the manufacture of Portland cement and experiments with the storage battery. The quality of his optimism is found in the anecdote related by his associate at that time, W. S. Mallory: "During the boom times of 1902, when the old General Electric stock sold at its high-water mark of about \$300, Mr. Edison and I were on our way from the cement plant at New Village, N. J., to his home in Orange. When we arrived at Dover, N. J., we got a New York newspaper, and I called his attention to the quotation of that day on General Electric. Mr. Edison then asked: 'If I hadn't sold any of mine, what would it be worth today?' and after some figuring I replied: 'Over four million dollars.' When Mr. Edison is thinking seriously over a problem he is in the habit of pulling his right eyebrow, which he did now for fifteen or twenty seconds. Then his face lighted up, and he said: 'Well, it's all gone, but we had a hell of a good time spending it.'"

Combined with optimism was a supreme self-confidence born of immense resourcefulness. "Difficulties seem to have a peculiar charm for Edison," the authors of the biography tell us, "whether they relate to large or small things." And, they add, he is never so happy as when doing something that others have called impossible. The invention of a workable incandescent lamp was called an impossibility by eminent scientists when Edison, fifty years ago at Menlo Park, introduced a piece of carbonized cotton thread into a glass globe and made it glow for forty hours. Not only did he devise a workable lamp, but by the invention of an improved dynamo and the development of central power plants and systems of distributing electric current, he made the new light

available to all. "Frequently, when it would seem to others that the extreme end of an apparently blind alley had been reached, and that it was impossible to proceed further, he has shown that there were several ways out of it." For example, "during the progress of the ore-milling work at Edison, it became desirable to carry on a certain operation by some special machinery. He [Edison] requested the proper person on his engineering staff to think this matter up and submit a few sketches of what he would propose to do. He brought three drawings to Edison, who examined them and said none of them would answer. The engineer remarked that it was too bad, for there was no other way to do it. * * * This happened on Saturday. Edison followed his usual custom of spending Sunday at home in Orange. When he returned to the works on Monday morning, he took with him sketches he had made, showing forty-eight other ways of accomplishing the desired operation and laid them on the engineer's desk without a word."

A widespread belief that Edison, where other men fail, achieves results by a sort of inborn luck or wizardry, is controverted in the biography by detailed accounts of his experiments. "A popular idea of Edison that dies hard," the authors write, "pictures a breezy, slap-dash, energetic inventor arriving at new results by luck and intuition, making boastful assertions and then winning out by mere chance. * * * But the real truth is that, while gifted with unusual imagination, Edison's march to the goal of a new invention is positively humdrum and monotonous in its steady progress. No one ever saw Edison in a hurry; no one ever saw him lazy; and that which he did with slow, careful scrutiny six months ago, he will be doing with just as much calm deliberation of research six months hence—and six years hence if necessary." The incandescent lamp, for example, was born of long-continued and, to any other man, painful research and experiment. Before Edison began work on the problem he mastered, by exhaustive reading, the subjects of gas illumination and arc lighting. Later, in the search for a durable incandescent filament for his lamp, he experimented for years in carbonizing almost every conceivable substance, from paper to human hair. If it is luck to reach the long-sought goal after trying everything once, then luck was with Edison when at last he found the material he wanted. "One day in the early part of 1880 he noticed upon a table in the laboratory an ordinary palm-leaf fan.

He picked it up and, looking it over, observed that it had a binding rim made of bamboo cut from the outer edge of the cane; a very long strip. He examined this, and then gave it to one of his assistants, telling him to cut it up and get out of it all the filaments he could, carbonize them, put them into lamps, and try them. The results of this trial were exceedingly successful. * * * Edison was convinced that he was now on the right track." Still not satisfied, he dispatched searchers to far countries to find the best possible kind of

bamboo for his purpose. Again, in the invention of the Edison storage battery, experiments were carried to almost unbelievable lengths. In this connection, the authors quote the reply of one of the laboratory assistants when asked how many experiments had been made on the storage battery since 1900: "Goodness only knows! We used to number our experiments consecutively from 1 to 10,000, and when we got up to 10,000 we turned back to 1 and ran up to 10,000 again, and so on. We ran through several series—

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I don't know how many, and have lost track of them now—but it was not far from fifty thousand."

Behind all this is a passion for experiment which Edison has possessed since he was a boy, setting up his first chemical laboratory in the cellar of his home at Port Huron, Mich., and spending all the cash he could earn to purchase materials and apparatus for his experiments. Edison's inventions number more than a thousand, the most important of which are described and illustrated in an appendix to the biography. Yet today, at the age of 82, he still retains the same fondness for patient research. In his latest experiments with latex-producing weeds and other plants, described in the final chapter, he has tested and classified thousands of specimens, and has raised many varieties, with the whole-hearted confidence that eventually he will succeed in producing successful commercial rubber from plants grown in the United States. Who, after reading the story of his work, can deny that he will succeed? "The only way to keep ahead of the procession is to experiment," Edison is quoted as having told the superintendent of his cement plant. "When there's no experimenting there's no progress."

In Defense of "Mother India"

By STANLEY HIGH

EDITOR, *Christian Herald*

IT WAS inevitable that sooner or later some one would take up the cudgels in defense of Miss Katherine Mayo and her *Mother India*. Mr. Field has done this in effective fashion.* He has assumed apparently that the astonishingly voluminous "denial literature" that *Mother India* called forth has almost run its course. Nine volumes designed, directly or indirectly, to disprove Miss Mayo's book or discredit Miss Mayo have already appeared. Countless magazine articles have been written. Mass meetings of protest and debate have been held in England, the United States and India. At least one Indian lecturer—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu—has traversed America expressly to an-

swer *Mother India*. And out of the accumulated bitterness of books, articles and speeches, Mr. Field has drawn a considerable part of the material for this book. The remaining part, which may be said to constitute Miss Mayo's official reply, has come from Indian sources and, when issues of fact are involved, from Miss Mayo's own files.

Undoubtedly Mr. Field has made a good case. He will hardly be able to revive the discussion that raged around *Mother India*. But he certainly has succeeded in bringing further evidence, most of it Indian, to substantiate her assertions. Further, he has given specific and, it seems to me, conclusive answer to the many reckless charges made against Miss Mayo herself. In abbreviated fashion Mr. Field retraces the ground covered by *Mother India*. He reviews the answers to her specific charges and in turn provides the answers with an answer. Incidentally he makes a few charges on his own account, notably one which sets forth the alleged attempt of Mahatma Gandhi to buy off the widow of an American who was killed in a "non-cooperation" demonstration in Bombay, the news of which Gandhi was said to desire to suppress because of its possible effect upon his standing among Americans. In fact, in regard to Mr. Gandhi's attacks upon Miss Mayo and her book, Mr. Field has taken particular care. He has taken Mr. Gandhi's comments on the book and on Miss Mayo and furnished what seem to be conclusive replies. He has even produced a facsimile copy of Miss Mayo's notes of her interview with the Hindu leader and of the letter in which he gave them his approval. Actually, Gandhi's attack on *Mother India* was chiefly concerned with superficial items. He called the book a "Drain Inspector's Report," but about its chief contentions he had this to say: "We may repudiate the charge as it has been framed by her, but we may not repudiate the substance underlying the many allegations she has made."

The most frequently quoted and attacked paragraph in *Mother India* is that in which Miss Mayo declares: "The Indian (Hindu) girl, in common practice, looks for motherhood nine months after reaching puberty—or anywhere between the ages of 14 and 8. The latter age is extreme, although in some sections not exceptional; the former is well above the average." The customary reply to this accusation has been drawn from the hospital report of Dr. Margaret I. Balfour of Bombay, who pointed out that in Bom-

*After *Mother India*. By Harry Field. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

bay and Madras the average age of mothers delivered of their first babies was 18.7 and 19.4 years. But, as Mr. Field points out, this reply is far from conclusive. In the first place less than 3 per cent of India's population lives in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. Moreover, in all the hospitals of India there are a scant 75,000 beds. It is among the village population and, in particular, among those to whom hospital service is unavailable that child mothers are most numerous. To add further to the truth of Miss Mayo's original contention Mr. Field quotes, at length, from Indian authorities which give her striking support. This procedure has been followed through the entire book. Nor can it be charged against Mr. Field, as it was against Miss Mayo, that he has neglected to list his sources. They are there in innumerable footnotes and adequate appendices.

For the betterment of social conditions in India, one might hope that *After Mother India* would create a new storm of discussion. But that is not likely. And even then the discussion might prove fruitless. The remarkable fact about *Mother India* was not the book itself, remarkable as it was. More astonishing was the fact that the apologists for India seemed determined at all costs to whitewash actual conditions among the Indian people. After a rather extensive reading of the answers that have appeared one receives the impression that Indian intellectuals are much more concerned to prove that all is well in India than to set about it to right conditions where clearly they seem to be all wrong. Young India seems to lack any real capacity for self-criticism. That lack results in their drifting as far from the facts as any anti-Indian propagandist could possibly drift. Mahatma Gandhi almost alone among contemporary Indian leaders has dared to set forth the social liabilities under which the Indian people live. His courage, however, is not widely shared, particularly among the Indian intelligentsia, whose unfamiliarity with actual conditions among the common people is surpassed only by their indifference to them. If *Mother India* and the library of propaganda, pro and con, that has grown up around it since its publication two years ago, help to loose this class of Indians from their lethargy, then, certainly the attendant bitterness will not have been aroused in vain. And, as Mr. Field points out, *Mother India* admittedly has provided a considerable stimulus for social legisla-

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tion in India's Provincial Assemblies and for increased agitation among Indians to set their national house in order.

Soviet Peace Plans

By A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

THE purpose of this book,* as set forth in its foreword, is to acquaint "wide circles in this country with the facts as to the Soviet Union and peace." A collection of "all the most important and valuable" Soviet documents dealing directly with that question, arranged in a chronological order, it opens with the decree on the "democratic peace without annexations and indemnities" issued the day after the Soviet Government came into power (Nov. 8, 1917), and closes with the speech of the Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs at the signing on Feb. 9, 1929, of the protocol providing that the Kellogg pact should come into force between the Soviet Union and its neighboring States.

"Despite the innumerable international obstacles," Henri Barbusse, the French pacifist, writes in the introduction to the book, "put in the way of the Soviet Union by its imperialist foes and opponents, it has never relinquished its aspirations toward peace, never lost an opportunity of demonstrating them." As to the "innumerable obstacles" for which the "imperialist foes" are blamed, a different opinion may be formed by those who are not in sympathy with the Soviet credo and activities. But the second part of M. Barbusse's statement, to the effect that no opportunity has been lost by the Soviet Government to demonstrate its aspirations toward peace, hardly anybody will contradict. In point of fact, the "propaganda for peace," entered upon by that government in the course of the World War and carried on in the post-war period, has been so striking that the Soviet policy is clearly understood everywhere.

In 1917 the appeal of the Soviet Government to the peoples of the world was broadcast to put an end to the "imperialist" war, but its aim was also to start a revolutionary struggle against the existing governments not capable of a "demo-

cratic peace." In Russia, as a result of the Bolshevik propaganda against the bourgeoisie, a civil war ensued which lasted two years after the "imperialist" war had come to an end, and was marked by most cruel excesses.

A proposal for general disarmament was put forward by the Soviet delegation at the Genoa conference in 1922. Inasmuch as the conference had been called for the discussion of economic and financial questions and the settlement of State debts and private claims, which the Soviet Government had repudiated, the proposal was not discussed. Moreover, the conclusion of the Russo-German treaty at Rapallo at that time, arousing the suspicions of the nations represented at the conference, was far from creating a political atmosphere favorable to the discussion of disarmament.

At the fourth session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at Geneva in 1927 the question of general disarmament was raised by the Soviet delegation again. The draft convention submitted by the delegation provided for immediate, general and complete disarmament, including the abolition of all land, sea and air forces, the destruction of all weapons and military stores and the scrapping of all warships. Presenting that sweeping scheme to the commission, the spokesman of the Soviet delegation, however, made the significant remark that "under the capitalist system no grounds exist for counting upon the removal of the causes which give rise to armed conflicts." The draft convention, upon examination, was rejected by the commission. Barring the impracticability of the Soviet project to do away at a single stroke with an order of things as old as the history of mankind, another important cause of the negative attitude of the commission lay in the distrust of the Soviet Union with its purpose to change the political and social-economic structure in other countries "by provoking armed risings."

Although the "alleged propaganda," of which the Soviet Government was accused, was flatly denied in the reply made by the Soviet spokesman as based on "forged documents," subsequent events have shown that the accusation had its foundation in fact. The pledge to end propaganda, exacted from the Soviet Union by the British Government before the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, may serve as one of the proofs.

It is obvious that as long as the Soviet Government persists in its activities for

**The Soviet Union and Peace.* With an introduction by Henri Barbusse. New York: International Publishers, 1929. \$2.25.

the purpose of destroying the capitalist system in other countries and substituting the system with which it is experimenting and the advantages of which remain to be proved, "the initiative [of that government] in advancing the affairs of peace" and disarmament will not inspire confidence in nations looking for peace.

The Tragedy of Francis Joseph

By JONATHAN F. SCOTT

LECTURER ON HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

THE life of Francis Joseph was a long, hard-fought retreat from the inevitable. He had to face three extraordinarily difficult tasks—to deal with a formidable liberal movement, to protect his realm from foreign conquest and to hold together the jarring nationalities given him to rule. In all these tasks he failed. He was overwhelmed by the trend of the times. Only death spared him the final collapse of his realm. The story and the tragedy are told in this new biography.*

In autocracy Francis Joseph had a deep and abiding faith. That the people could manage the affairs of government directly or through their representatives he never believed. Coming to the throne in 1848, when revolution threatened the dissolution of his realm, he assumed responsibility for the control and welfare of his people with calm confidence and firm resolution. For some twelve years he succeeded in maintaining his autocratic power, first, under the influence of his admired mentor, the audacious, reactionary Prince Schwarzenberg, by virtually nullifying a liberal constitution which the revolution had forced him to grant, later by boldly substituting for this constitution an openly autocratic instrument of government, the New Year's Patent of 1852. Then public opinion, especially in Hungary, outraged by the incompetence with which the Italian campaign of 1859 was conducted, forced him to begin a course of concessions of liberalism, a course which led later to the establishment of parliamentary government and culminated in the grant of universal suffrage in Austria in 1907. Though no opportunist, the Emperor could swim

*Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. A Biography. By Joseph Redlich. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. \$5.

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gracefully enough with a tide he could no longer breast. But his heart was never in these concessions.

The Emperor's conduct of foreign affairs, his biographer clearly shows, was anything but brilliant. During the Crimean War he antagonized both Russia and the Western Powers by what might be described as a policy of "tactless neutrality." In 1859, manoeuvred by Cavour into war with Piedmont and France, he was forced to give up the province of Lombardy. In 1866, tricked by Bismarck into war with Prussia, he had to yield Venetia to Italy and submit to the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation. For better or worse, leadership in Germany passed to Prussia. Later, indeed, Austria did succeed, first in administering, then in annexing, Bosnia and Herzegovina. But the acquisition of these provinces led to embittered relations with Serbia, thence to the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and so to the World War. As a whole Francis Joseph's foreign policy was a succession of blunders, disastrous in their outcome.

Loyal submission to Habsburg rule was the Emperor's proposed solution for the problem of conflicting nationalities, as it was for the problem of subversive liberalism. But it would not, could not, work. Hungary, subjected to autocratic control after the revolution of 1848 and 1849, seethed and boiled with indignation, and Francis Joseph was forced to grant the *Ausgleich*, the Compromise of 1867, giving Hungary autonomy, establishing the Dual Monarchy. Once the dual control was set up, however, the Emperor loyally made its maintenance a primary object of his reign. But this meant the domination of the lesser nationalities in Hungary by Magyars, of the lesser nationalities of Austria by Germans. Friction between the dominating and dominated nationalities grew worse and worse, till finally, two years after the death of Francis Joseph and at the end of the great war, the whole ramshackle structure of the Dual Monarchy went crashing to ruin.

Joseph Redlich, lately Professor of Comparative Law at Harvard, and recently offered the Finance portfolio in the new Austrian Cabinet, is peculiarly well qualified to write the story of Francis Joseph. He was born in Moravia in 1869. In due course he became a practicing lawyer and professor of law in the University of Vienna. From 1908 to 1918 he was a member of the Austrian Parliament, where he followed an independent anti-nationalist course, seeking to promote the

peaceful cooperation of all nationalities on the basis of democratic principles. He had ample opportunity to observe the Emperor, who at one time called him into consultation in connection with an abortive plan to reorganize the empire. In 1918, just before the collapse of the empire, the Emperor Charles made him Finance Minister. As we should expect, then, he has written an exceptionally well-informed book on Francis Joseph, in which he has ably interwoven the life of the Emperor with the foreign and domestic politics of his country. It is a book which every serious student of European history will wish to have in his library.

Professor Redlich, however, has the defects of his qualifications. His views on the origins of the World War seem to be colored by nationalism, for he assumes more intrigue on the part of Russia looking to the provocation of war than the evidence warrants. This, however, is a minor defect. A more serious limitation comes from the very abundance of his knowledge. American readers will find it hard to follow him in his discussion of the intricacies and complexities of Austrian foreign and domestic politics under Francis Joseph. His failure to clarify and simplify as far as possible these intricacies and complexities will inevitably narrow the appeal of the book in this country.

As a character study, however, the book is a distinct success: Professor Redlich uses none of the devices of the modern biographer. He does not make any attempt to psychoanalyze Francis Joseph. Yet the character of Francis Joseph stands out crystal clear, and it is of the essence of Professor Redlich's art that, despite the unsparing severity of his criticism, the reader is left with a feeling of sympathy, respect, even affection for the Emperor. Narrow-minded and reactionary Francis Joseph undoubtedly was, a failure in his foreign policy, in his attempts to maintain autocracy and to harmonize conflicting nationalities. But there is only one serious blot on his character, his treatment of General Benedek. Francis Joseph was far from being a weakling. He could lose like a gentleman and surrender like a statesman. In his sense of proportion there was something truly great. No matter what blows fate dealt him, political or personal, he kept his balance. In fine, the old Emperor passes slowly across the stage of history like some noble figure of Greek tragedy, pursued by Nemesis, but with courageous heart and with head erect moving majestically to his doom.

Brief Book Reviews

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1927. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press. New York: 1929. 613 pp.

Among the many important scholarly enterprises in the field of international affairs which have been initiated in recent years for the better understanding of the issues of war and peace none is more thorough and distinguished than the series of surveys by Professor Toynbee, of which this is the latest. Each volume is a monument of the most painstaking research, written with insight and impartiality, so that for the events and developments of the year treated it would be possible to rely almost entirely upon this work to the exclusion of all others. The survey for the year 1927 is in four main parts: Security and Disarmament; Europe; China; The American Continent (1926-1927), while the appendices contain a number of important documents and a very useful chronology.

NATIONALITY: ITS NATURE AND PROBLEMS. By Bernard Joseph. Yale University Press. New Haven: 1929. \$3.00.

"Nationality," says Dr. Joseph in the closing chapter of his book, "is a necessary link between man and humanity." His entire volume is devoted to the proof of that statement. The book opens with a theoretical discussion of the nature of nationality, and of the elements necessary to it, such as race, language, religion, homeland, tradition, culture, and the corporate will to be a nation. Dr. Joseph then goes on to give the growth of concrete nationalities; he tells very concisely, but with an excellent choice of material, the story of national development in Europe, in the East, in Palestine, and in India. His comments on Arab nationalism are particularly interesting, and in the light of present developments, open to some discussion: "There is no national bond which unites the Arabs, nor is there any but the remotest likelihood of such a bond ever being formed." Of the Chinese he says: "They are unmoved by that corporate sentiment which will be seen to be so fundamental to the existence of a nationality. Their possession of most of the important material elements of nationality notwithstanding, the Chinese, in the absence of psychological and spiritual unity, cannot as yet be deemed a true nationality." That is, nationality as Dr. Joseph interprets it: "Nationality as a quality is the subjective corporate sentiment permanently present in and giving

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a sense of distinctive unity to the majority of the members of a particular civilized section of humanity, which at the same time objectively constitutes a distinct group by virtue of possessing certain collective attributes peculiar to it, such as homeland, language, religion, history, culture or traditions. Nationality as a concrete designation denotes a group possessed of the quality of nationality as so defined." This definition is the summation of the book. In the closing chapter, which will be to many the most interesting, Dr. Joseph defends nationalism as being today more than ever essential to the peace and welfare of the world. As a whole the book is scholarly and interesting. The only criticism, of the author's method at least, is that he relies too much on the interpretations and statements of other writers—Señor Madariaga, Mr. Zimmermann, Carlton Hayes, and other historians—and too little on his own observations. Very few of his conclusions seem to come from independent thinking.

CHRISTIANITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION. By Charles David Eldridge. Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press, 1928. \$3.

Dr. Eldridge's book is valuable as a compilation of a large body of material which has hitherto been scattered through a number of textbooks. The author recounts in a swift narrative form the effect of Christian doctrine and activity on various periods of history—the Roman Empire, the barbarian invasion, feudalism, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the modern age. Owing to the vast scope of the work, detail, reference to source material and interpretation are necessarily lacking. Where there is interpretation it is frankly of a didactic and sweeping kind, as the following sentences show: "The South Sea Islanders were lifted from savagery to civilization in almost a single generation, through the spirit and teaching of Christianity. * * * It would be difficult to discover any reform during the entire Christian era which did not originate with Christianity and depend upon it for its inspiration and support. * * * The Dark Ages and the brutality of the Middle Ages are not chargeable to the Church. They were the result of social forces which the Church had to withstand and transform. * * * It is not too much to say that brotherhood, as now understood, was neither realized nor made operative by any nation of earth before it was made an effective dynamic through the Christian religion."

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF NICOLÒ MACHIAVELLI. By Orestes Ferrara. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 124 pp. \$2.25.

The value of this essay by such a distinguished scholar and diplomat as Dr. Ferrara (the Cuban Ambassador at Washington), lies in the fact that it corrects

the traditional view of Machiavelli which his famous work, *The Prince*, has impressed upon the world. There was a very interesting side to the statesman whose name has become associated with political double-dealing, and it is that human side we begin to appreciate by studying the private correspondence which is so far not generally known, even to scholars. These letters will, as Dr. Ferrara says, provide "sufficient data to destroy the numerous legends created around his [Machiavelli's] personality."

ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS. An Authorized Biography. By Evelyn Graham. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1929. \$5.

This, the first official biography of King Albert of Belgium, is a welcome addition to the lives of the World War monarchs. Mr. Graham has done an excellent, if entirely non-critical, piece of work. The life of Albert of Belgium, in all its important detail, and with much unimportant detail which adds to the charm of the work, is written with an acute appraisal of his position on the European stage. Yet it is hard to believe that any man born of woman could be so faultless, so perfect, so Godlike, as the man that Mr. Graham has drawn as King of the Belgians. It is understandable, if regrettable, that the author is unable to view the part played by King Albert in the recent war, without the customary wartime attitude toward Germany, which, although to many justified in part, can no longer be held in that extreme fashion that arose from wartime propaganda. The chapters telling of the King's relations to the Kaiser and of the entry of Belgium into the war, are particularly interesting in spite of the author's viewpoint, and the story of the King's part during the war and in the post-war reconstruction is well told.

STRESEMANN: The Man and the Statesman. By Rochus von Rheinbaben. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1929. \$3.

Another mediocre biography has been added to the ever increasing list. This life of Stresemann, Foreign Minister of Germany, will create no sensation of any kind. It is inadequate and uninteresting. The facts of his life are given, in chronological order, with constant justification of them, and with no particular emphasis. A great deal of space is occupied with quotations from Stresemann's conversations, speeches and articles—space which is largely wasted, either because of poor translation or because of a poor choice of material; nor are the excerpts especially vital or pertinent. The early years of Stresemann's life are fairly interesting as representing pre-war middle-class attempts to break down industrial conservatism. The chapter on the war is particularly disappointing, as is the chapter on Locarno and

Geneva; the author has completely failed to make the reader feel the vigor of Stresemann, a characteristic which is immediately apparent when the Foreign Minister speaks. Mr. von Rheinbaben's book will undoubtedly have a certain place in the current books on modern Germany, and will be of some service to students of recent German politics, but it is deplorable that a real piece of work—historical and literary—should not be made of Mr. Stresemann's extremely interesting life. This book is in no way big enough to fit its subject.

WAR IN WORLD HISTORY. By Andrew Reid Cowan. New York: Longmans, Green. 1929. \$2.40.

This volume is a study of the psychological origins of war and the malign effect of man's aggressiveness on human progress. It begins with a consideration of man as a mechanic of weapons. Human conflict is traced through the spirit of the clans to ancient times. The author attempts to be really fair to the ancient Persians, Chinese and Egyptians, and later the Moors. In his treatment of modern history, he shows clearly the part played by the greed of nations and religious conflicts in forcing war and generally holding back human progress. The book, however, does not treat the accidental, strategic, geographic, economic and political factors which have generally modified man's spirit of acquisitiveness. The author seems to agree with Bernhardt that war is a "biological imperative" and might have added from his own observations that it is a psychological imperative as well. Mr. Cowan's observations on America are interesting as they reflect the attitude and point of view of an intelligent Englishman, but his outlook upon the future is too gloomy, though, unfortunately, accurate. However, it is perhaps a little too broad to say that humanity faces suicide, particularly via poison gas.

NAPOLEON SELF-DESTROYED. By Pierce Clark. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1929.

With the majority of readers, Dr. Clark's life of Napoleon will leave as its most outstanding impression a sense of irritation. What right, one asks, has Dr. Clark, even if he is "one of the most distinguished psychologists in this country," working on the assumption that Napoleon was a so-called narcissist, to interpret every act, known and imagined, of Napoleon's life as due to that narcissism? Is there never again to be a simple motive for a man's doing what he does? Despite that, if one omits the three-quarters of the book devoted to hypothetical psychological analysis, the actual story is an excellent one. There are descriptions of the Italian campaign and of the Battle of Waterloo

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that will rank with the best. There are certain paragraphs, such as the following, that are vivid and seem to make sense: "No man represents so completely and conspicuously dominion, splendor and catastrophe. He raised himself by the use, and ruined himself by the abuse, of superhuman faculties. He was wrecked by the extravagance of his own genius." That Napoleon was "self-destroyed" is not a new contention. There are other passages, however, those which cause the profound irritation already mentioned, which to the uninitiated make no sense at all: "In sharp contrast to ordinary senility is the early decay of judgment owing to the insecurity of reality attachment, and Napoleon's impatience at the inexorable demand and tedious process of allowing time and events properly to unfold—the cheat of the dream is its very magiclike quality and the vacuous sense of fullness it gives its possessor. It is no longer the inciter to new arduous tasks but the very embodiment of fulfillment—a replica of the state of hallucinatory omnipotence of infancy. Like a fatuous lord who absorbs the inner gorgeousness of all his idealistic imaginings, Napoleon allows his adaptive responses to remain strangely unfulfilled or even refrained from putting them into operation." One fears that if Mr. Bonaparte had allowed himself to be "psyched" by Dr. Clark, his chapter of history would never have been written.

THE ART OF STRAIGHT THINKING.

By Edwin Leavitt Clarke. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 470 pp. \$3.00.

This excellent "primer of scientific method for social inquiry," as it is called in the sub-title, is the result of Professor Clarke's work in teaching sociology at Oberlin College, and is refreshing in its freedom from the customary academic methods which far too often run to rigidity and dullness. A good deal of the illustrative material is drawn from American social and political life of today, and is rich in its analysis of many kinds of current fallacies. But, says the author, "to some readers it may seem that I have stressed the fallacies of conservatism and have minimized equally common and grave fallacies of radicalism. This is true. I believe, however, that this unequal emphasis in selection of illustrations is not the result of prejudice on my part. It is rather the result of a judgment that most American undergraduates are habitual conservatives, who need to be warned especially of the fallacies of reaction, but who are fully aware of the mistakes of radicalism. Had I been writing for a predominantly liberal group I should have laid more stress upon the fallacies of radicalism than I have done in this volume." One of the most interesting chapters is that on "Dishonest Propaganda," in which Professor Clarke presents an interesting collection of war-time fabrications, begin-

ning with the story of the Ems telegram which led to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

THE ENGLISH KING. By Michael MacDonagh. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1929. \$3.00.

This is what is known as a "popular" book; that is, it is a charming account, filled with rather delightful anecdotes, of the part played by the British royal family in the social, romantic, and to a small extent, political life of England. One says England purposely, because with the exception of one chapter which describes the importance of the English King as a welding force between the various parts of the British Empire and the Mother Country, the book deals almost entirely with the personal lives of the last three generations of the royal family and with their social activities in London. The book is not scholarly, nor does it contain any valuable reflections on the more serious rôle of the monarch in British affairs. It deals rather, at some length, with the romances of members of the royal family, with the importance of being received at court, and with the problem of titles. It does contain, in some confusion, the genealogy of the reigning family back to the time of Elizabeth, and it attempts to give a description of the government of the British Empire. This last, however, is superficial, and not particularly informative. The book is light reading for a hot Summer day, when one's conscience has forbidden wasting time on novels.

TRACKING DOWN THE ENEMIES OF MAN. By Arthur Torrance, M. D. New York: J. H. Sears & Co., 1929. \$3.50.

This book is primarily for the lay reader rather than for the scientist, and so well has Dr. Torrance described his medical experiences in the tropical lands of Africa, Asia and Borneo that the most scientifically uneducated person absorbs every word—including long dissertations on the tsetse fly. The book has a popular and delightfully easy style, and is as good a tale of adventuresome exploring in jungles and among pigmy tribes as can be found. Being written primarily for the lay reader, it contains just the kind of elementary information about tropical diseases which helps to make the book intelligible to the uninformed. It is a romantic tale, interspersed with unrelated anecdotes that add to the zest of the adventure. Dr. Torrance has a certain gift for picking out the most dramatic incidents of an event and making these incidents and the native people participating in them vivid to his audience. Add to this a certain amount of quiet humor, and the author's shrewdness in knowing when he has told enough of one tale. His picture of one malaria-stricken native village and of his successful struggle to make it a normal healthy community is particularly thrilling.

Recent Important Books

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BRIDGES, T. C., and TILTMAN, H. H. *Kings of Commerce*. New York: Crowell, 1929. \$3.

Short biographies of twenty-five English and American leaders in industry and in commerce.

HALL, JOSEF WASHINGTON ("Upton Close"). *Eminent Asians; Six Great Personalities of the New East*. New York: Appleton, 1929. \$5.

Estimates of the character and achievements of Sun Yat-sen, Yamagata, Ito, Mustapha Kemal, Stalin and Ghandi.

KRUIF, PAUL DE. *Seven Iron Men*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. \$3.

A romantic account of the lives of the Merrits, the remarkable family of pioneers who explored and opened up the Mesabi iron range in Minnesota.

ECONOMICS

LIPPINCOTT, ISAAC. *Economic Resources and Industries of the World*. New York: Appleton, 1929. \$5.

A book of great value for every one interested in foreign trade and investment. Contains a large amount of statistical material.

MOULTON, HAROLD G., and others. *The St. Lawrence Navigation and Power Project*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1929. \$4.

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the United States. New York: The Board, 1929. \$5.

A statistical survey and analysis of our rapidly developing foreign trade and investment and of its effect on our domestic banking institutions.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD. *Mergers in Industry: A Study of Certain Economic Aspects of Industrial Consolidation*. New York: The Board, 1929. \$3.

This, with its companion volume, *Mergers and the Law*, published earlier in the year, covers the results of an extensive and careful investigation of the status and results of a large number of industrial consolidations.

SMITH, NEIL SKENE. *Economic Control: Australian Experiments in "Rationalization" and "Safeguarding."* London: P. S. King, 1929. 15 shillings.

The theory of the enlargement of the function of the State in the conscious control of industry, and an account of Australian experiments along this line.

WORLD POWER CONFERENCE. *Power Resources of the World (Potential and Developed)*. London: World Power Conference, 1929. \$4.25.

An important summary of the world's resources of coal, oil and water, the present production of power, all the figures being reduced, so far as possible, to a common basis. Contains an extensive bibliography.

HISTORY

COKE, RICHARD. *The Arab's Place in the Sun*. London: Butterworth, 1929. 21 shillings.

A very timely book in view of events in the Near East. An explanation of Islamic discontent in terms of history and present political situations.

DONALD, SIR ROBERT. *The Polish Corridor and the Consequences*. London: Butterworth, 1929. 12s 6d.

A review of the conflict of interest between Poland and Germany, generally favorable to the German position.

HALVEY, ELIE. *A History of the English People. Epilogue. Vol. 1, 1895-1905*, translated by E. I. Watkin. London: Benn, 1929. 25 shillings.

A most satisfactory account of recent English history by a leading French historian. This English translation has been considerably revised by the author.

OSGOOD, ERNEST STAPLES. *The Day of the Cattleman*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929. \$3.50.

A very satisfactory account of one of the most romantic eras of Western history and of an industry that has been completely transformed during the last generation.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

ALLAN, DEVERE. *Pacifism in the Modern World*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. \$2.

A series of essays, by men of such diversified types as Rabindranath Tagore, John Haynes Holmes and Roger Baldwin, presenting the argument for pacifism as necessary for human progress.

American Civic Annual; A Record of Recent Civic Advance: Edited by Harlean James. Washington: American Civic Association, 1929. \$3.

Summary accounts by about sixty contributors on civic development by nation, State and city. Articles on the national parks, the progress of regional planning and the efforts that are being made to make our cities more beautiful and more humane.

BALBAREU, CECILE. *Le Pact de Paris*. Paris: Gamber, 1929. 15 francs.

An interesting analysis of the implications of the Pact from the French point of view.

BLAKESLEE, GEORGE H. *The Pacific Area: An International Survey*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1929. 40 cents.

A factual statement regarding the foreign relations of China and Japan, the "unequal treaties," extraterritoriality, tariff, autonomy and the Manchurian situation. Includes many important documents.

The British Crown and the Indian States. An Outline Sketch Drawn Up on Behalf of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes. London: P. S. King, 1929. 10s 6d.

Proposals for the development of the organic relation of the Indian Native States, in a quasi-federation with the Government of India.

HOWLAND, CHARLES P. (edited by) *Survey of American Foreign Relations*. 1929. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. \$5.

The second volume of the annual survey issued by the Council on Foreign Relations. This volume deals largely with our relations with the States in the Caribbean area.

KLEINWAECHTER, FRIEDRICH F. G. *Self-Determination for Austria*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1929. 3s 6d.

A plea for the Anschluss, the union of Austria with Germany, and for a revision of the Treaty of St. Germain that would make it possible.

MANNEN-HELMER, ELIZABETH VAN. *The Mandates System in Relation to Africa and the Pacific Islands*. London: P. S. King, 1929. 15 shillings.

Emphasizes the constitutional development of the mandates system under the League of Nations, illustrating it from experience with the Pacific and African mandates.

WU, CHAO-CHU. *The Nationalist Program for China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. \$1.50.

An authoritative statement of the aims of the present Nationalist Government by their Minister to the United States.

SCIENCE

TORRANCE, ARTHUR. *Tracking Down the Enemies of Man, Being the Romance of a Doctor's Life in the Jungles*. New York: Sears, 1928. \$3.50.

A vivid account of the battle with the insects and bacteria that are responsible for yellow fever, cholera and other tropical diseases.

To and From Our Readers

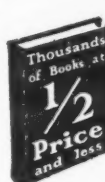
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NATIONAL SECURITY

To the Editor of Current History:

Professor Brown of Princeton makes a statement in the October number of CURRENT HISTORY that challenges the careful consideration of every person interested in the future of our country. This is the statement: "Some assert that there has never been any security through force. It must be pointed out that this would seem to be nothing but a bold assertion which denies the practical experience of daily life throughout all ages and peoples, and makes no appeal to the common sense of mankind." This statement is one of those "half truths," accurate in the narrowest sense, but giving a totally wrong impression of the world today, a world of the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations.

In the early days of our Western frontier a man's safety lay in his revolver, at least the best safety he had, but if he were a little slow on the draw someone would beat him to it, or if he became too expert they would combine against him and in the long run he was sure to lose. The only real safety came when the law came. Has it not been so with nations? The best security a nation knew was to make itself so strong, either alone or by alliances, that no other nation or group would dare attack it. But this has been a sorry "safety" down through the ages, culminating in the World War, in which Germany's overwhelming military superiority could not save her and in which the British Navy, by far the greatest in the world, would have been defeated by a few German submarines if it had not been for the friendship of the United States. Civilization is coming to see that this kind of safety will not do. The result is that through the Kellogg Pact practically every nation of the world has given up its right to impose on other nations by force of arms its wish for the safety and well-being of its peoples. Is not the inference of Professor Brown's statement completely and wholly wrong? Is it not the "common sense of mankind" that has discovered that security through force is temporary, unstable and not to



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be relied upon permanently? Is not that the meaning of the Kellogg Pact?

Naturally enough the pact is not all-sufficient. The renunciation of war is a noble conception, but it does not furnish the machinery for settling the disputes and crises that are sure to come. This part of the job in the present international set-up is left to the League of Nations. Not only is the League perfecting this machinery with phenomenal speed, as world political changes go, but also it is supplementing the pact by seeking for methods through which the force of public opinion of the world may be brought to bear by economic pressure against the aggressor and financial help to the defender, so that no nation will dare to break its pledge of the Kellogg Pact. The great nations, headed by Britain and Germany, have declared at the League Assembly just closed that the Covenant of the League must be revised to conform exactly to the pact. This will undoubtedly be done. On the other side, the pact needs "implementing" by bringing it close to the machinery of the League. Our country should sit with the Council of the League (1) by sending a fact-finding commission to any scene of dispute, and (2) by recommending to the countries involved a definite method of settling not only the actual dispute but the underlying questions involved. The League has already done exactly that thing in the Greco-Bulgarian dispute and it was the United States and the League, both working on the case, that prevented war in the Paraguay-Bolivia dispute. When these two things are arranged for by carefully drawn treaties, then we shall perhaps be ready for the further implementing of the pact by sanctions against the aggressor, as already presented to our Congress in the Fish, Burton, Capper and Porter resolutions.

These are the problems of the present and of the future, and the leaders of thought in our great universities should be showing us how to solve them.

PHILIP C. NASH,

Director of the League of Nations Association.

New York City.

THE NEW HISTORY

To the Editor of Current History:

The interesting article by Professor Abbott on history in the October number of CURRENT HISTORY is a challenge to the professional historian and general reader alike. May not something be said in defense of the so-called popular historian, or if you will, the "vulgarizer"? The very fact noted by Professor Abbott, that ably written historical articles have disappeared from the leading periodicals, makes the work of the journalistic historian important and even valuable today. This disappearance is easily accounted for, without invidious comparisons in matters of

public taste, by the appearance of professional journals which are the natural consequence of the intellectual revolution which has made of history a science rather than an art.

After all, are these journalistic histories as black as they have often been painted? Here and there it is true one comes across a statement written so obviously for effect that one can but smile and pass on. But this method in the hands of men like M. Paleologue and Francis Hackett can result in a product which has lasting value. So much both of detailed studies and of the source material of history is turned out today that however much time one has at one's disposal, and however broad one's interest, whole worlds of history would be closed were it not for such readable sketches as are provided in books such as M. Paleologue's *Cavour*. In this book the author provided not only a brilliant biography, in which Cavour is seen in relation to his time, but the latest findings of historical research on such a complicated matter as the Orsini Letter, are presented in a manner that is intelligible and interesting to the least initiated.

It is much the same factor that accounts for the popularity of Maurois, Ludwig and Wells. Can any one deny the value of the *Outline of History* for those who in the stress of modern life may have little time to make acquaintance with the history of each country and such related sciences as have found their way into that book? And even if M. Maurois's *Disraeli* is largely based upon Moneyppenny and Buckle, may it not be as beneficial for those who lack time and inclination to tackle six volumes, as is a brilliant abridgement like Allan Nevins's one-volume edition of the *Diary of John Quincy Adams* in the field of scientific history for the professional historian whose major interest lies elsewhere, and who lacks time to cope with the five-volume work which is its source? In the same way does not Ludwig's *Napoleon* give a general view of France and Europe of that day? It is true that the author's flagrant carelessness in the use of sources is patent and inexcusable, but nevertheless the book has a cultural value and reaches a public to which, in the present state of scientific history, the professional historian must fail to appeal.

Another problem raised by Professor Abbott's article may be summed up in the question of the universal applicability of the "New History" or, as it may be called, "the socialization of history." Whatever may be the resolution of current discussion of the nature and influences of the "common man," this much at least has been established, that the psychology of a civilized people pushing into a wilderness and forced to return to primitive conditions, has determined the development of characteristic American institutions and outlook. European history presents no such picture. "War and rumors of war" there

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are in plenty in European history, but these are of the type that accustom men to "commend" themselves and find protection in service under well-recognized leaders. May it not also be that the "New History" can only be applied in its entirety to a country like the United States, which was a democracy from the earliest days?

No doubt the socialization of history provides the most attractive field for the labors of the modern journalistic historian. Therefore the temptation to extend the theory beyond its proper bounds is very strong. But while American history is largely concerned with the "common man," or, if you will, the leaders of the "common man," European history has been conditioned by the aristocratic concept which stands revealed in every phase of life. In this day of standardization such a diversity is welcome, and should provide an additional impulse to the reading and writing of history. NORAH STORY.

New York City.

* * *

"OUR FIRST AMERICAN"

To the Editor of Current History:

As one who for two decades has been a student of the life of Abraham Lincoln, I most emphatically dissent from the view of "Our First American," which Dr. Clarence True Wilson presents in his article on Bishop Matthew Simpson. He is pictured therein not once, but many times, as the "power behind the throne" in the Lincoln Administration, and without intending any reflection on Bishop Simpson, I say that nothing could be further from the truth. There was no "power behind the throne" in that administration. Abraham Lincoln's actions were controlled by no other individual than himself. It has been customary at intervals to conjure up the name of this, that or the other person as having been President Lincoln's political mentor. Charles Francis Adams in 1873 attempted to prove this to have been true of William H. Seward, but was promptly and fully confuted by Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, at the suggestion of Postmaster General Blair, these two latter being the only members of the original Lincoln Cabinet then living. "The President's was the master mind," said Welles. Similar statements with reference to the iron-willed Stanton and others have likewise been clearly disproved. Those who knew the man best united in testifying that, while he was a willing listener to everybody, in the final analysis it was Lincoln himself who arrived "at all his conclusions from his own reflections," as his friend Leonard Swett has well put it. Abraham Lincoln was not the guileless, unsophisticated being he has been oftentimes portrayed.

By these assertions I intend no belittlement of Bishop Simpson. I can readily believe that he and President Lincoln conferred earnestly on the slavery problem.

It is well known that they were on very friendly terms, and as one of the great leaders of the Methodist Church, which, as a whole in the North, was ardently upholding the Union cause, Simpson had the deep gratitude of the President. Senator Cullom of Illinois is authority for the story of the appointment of one of the later members of Lincoln's Cabinet at the request of Bishop Simpson, the President overruling the importunities of a delegation of Illinois friends, and the unsuccessful applicant himself being an old political associate.

It has not been unusual for claims of varied kinds to be made as to who or what inspired the Proclamation of Emancipation, but for clear, concise and logical accounts of its evolution, I would refer the reader to the chapters on "Emancipation," by Dr. Barton and Miss Tarbell in their respective biographies. From trustworthy sources we learn that Abraham Lincoln was in earnest communion with his Maker before he issued his notable pronouncement. Secretary Chase recorded in his diary on Sept. 22, 1862, the date of the preliminary proclamation, that the President told his Cabinet that he had determined that if the Confederate Army should be driven out of Maryland he had promised himself and his God that he would issue a proclamation of emancipation, and that as the enemy had been driven out, he was going to fulfill that promise. JOHN W. STARR JR.

Millersburg, Pa.

* * *

CANADIAN LIQUOR CONSUMPTION

To the Editor of Current History:

I cannot understand how Alfred E. Cook in his article on government liquor control in Canada, published in your October issue, arrives at some of his figures and conclusions. When he states that British Columbia is spending "just under \$30 per year for every man, woman and child of its population," does he not realize that thousands and tens of thousands of United States citizens go to the Canadian Provinces each year and that the vast majority of these Americans spend money on liquor of all kinds, so that their purchases help to make the Canadians appear to be drinking more than they actually do?

F. J. MURRAY

Houghton, Mich.

* * *

BISHOP MATTHEW SIMPSON

To the Editor of Current History:

Am I right in assuming that Clarence True Wilson, whose article "Bishop Matthew Simpson, the Man Who Inspired the Emancipation Proclamation," appears in the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY, errs where, on page 106, he makes the following statements: "General Halleck, who peremptorily removed him from the army," and "he was named for the Bishop's

uncle * * *? As a matter of fact, is it not true that Halleck relieved Grant of his command of the expedition up the Tennessee after Fort Donaldson had been passed, which is far different from "removing him from the army" (which General Halleck could not do)? Is it not also true that Grant's name, bestowed on him by his parents, was Ulysses Hiram Grant, and that he so signed it on May 29, 1839, on the Adjutant's register at West Point? And further, was not the "Simpson" he later used conferred on him entirely by accident?

REED L. PARKER.

Bridgeport, Conn.

* * *

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

A. E. House, San Jose, Cal., writes: "Among many important problems needing attention is the conduct of the medical profession. Able contributors have expressed the wide distrust and dissatisfaction of the people with the methods and fees of physicians and surgeons. The most noticeable and regrettable result of this is that a large part of us do not consult a doctor till we are down and out. The burden of all health articles in the press is, 'Don't try to treat yourself. Don't go to a quack. Consult your physician.' Of course we prefer to consult a competent doctor. But how are we to know which doctors are competent? And how are we to get the money to pay exorbitant fees? Are many doctors incompetent; and are fees too high? Even the doctors say they are. I see no relief in sight from this distressing condition. The only solution is one that is opposed not only by doctors but by professional and business people generally—that is, that doctors should be selected and employed by the State, and their advice should be as 'free' as is instruction in the public schools. Are we to be kept in our present plight by the boggy of socialism? Must we retain an outgrown custom in deference to antediluvians?"

* * *

DECEMBER CURRENT HISTORY

Among the outstanding features of December CURRENT HISTORY will be a group of articles discussing the question whether the United States should join the League of Nations. Both sides of this highly controversial issue will be discussed in the light of the fact that the League has now been in existence a few weeks short of ten years.

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IN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, ARE WRITTEN BY THE EDITORS]

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Pictures in Rotogravure



Times Wire World

GUSTAV STRESEMAN

Germany's Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose death on Oct. 3 was mourned throughout Europe. Among the peaceful achievements for which he was considered largely responsible were: the post-war reconstruction of Germany; the Locarno conference; Germany's entrance into the League of Nations; the Reparations settlement and the evacuation of the Rhineland

DR. STRESEMAN'S SUCCESSOR



P. & A.

DR. JULIUS CURTIUS

Appointed Foreign Minister of Germany by President Hindenburg on Oct. 4. A close friend and follower of Stresemann, Dr. Curtius was Minister of Commerce in the Mueller Cabinet

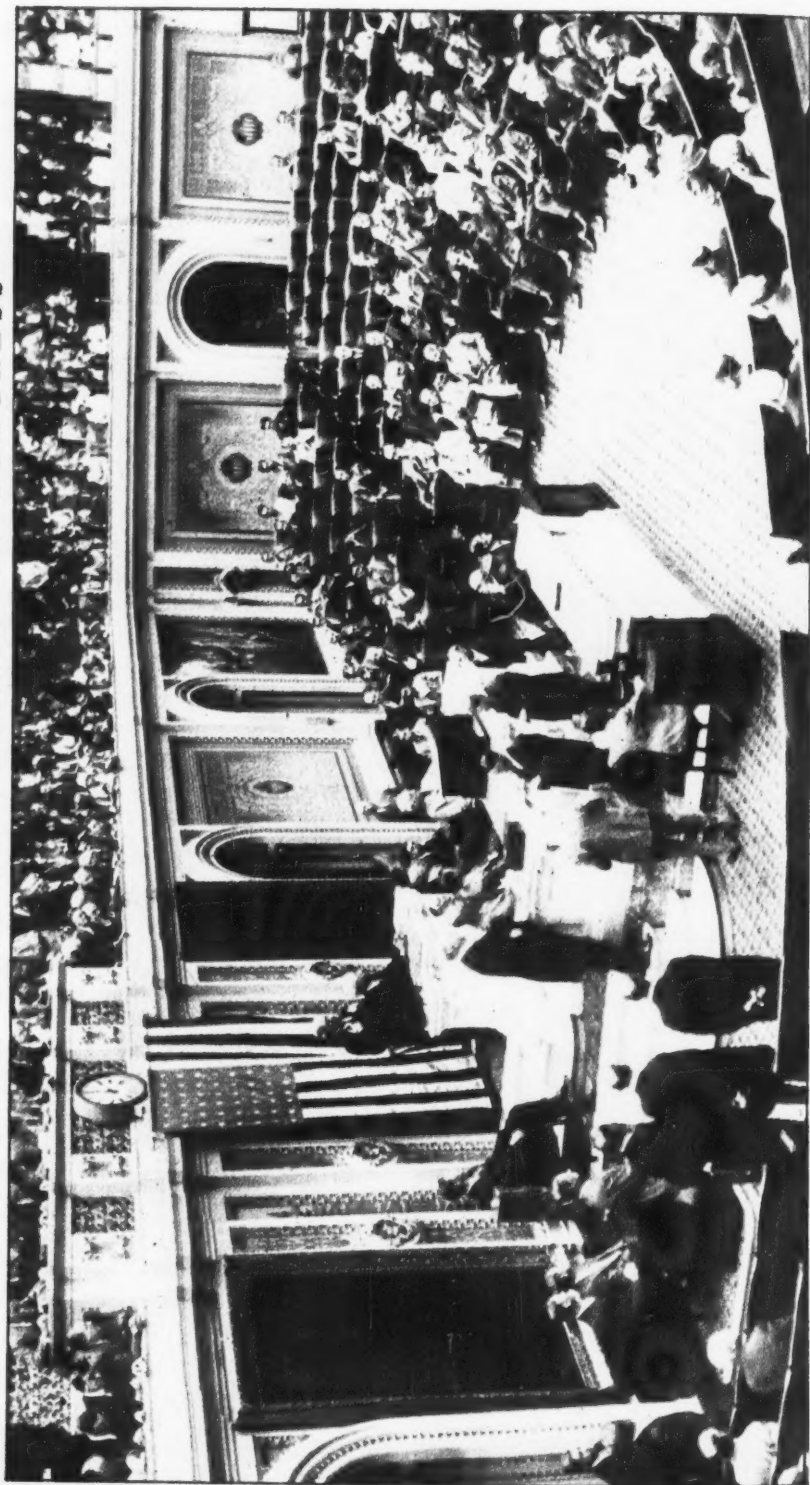
GUARDIANS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP



Times Wide World

PRIME MINISTER MacDONALD AND PRESIDENT HOOVER
The first visit of a British Prime Minister to the White House. Mr. MacDonald made this historic gesture to foster Anglo-American understanding and to discuss with Mr. Hoover the larger issues of world peace

THE BRITISH PREMIER IN CONGRESS



RAMSAY MACDONALD ADDRESSING THE HOUSE
The Prime Minister spoke before both houses of Congress on Oct. 7. His principal speech, however, avowing his belief in the Kellogg Pact and in the principle of naval parity, was made to the Senate.

Times Wide World

MEMBERS OF THE MacDONALD PARTY



Associated
Press

**LORD
ARNOLD**
Close friend
and adviser
of Mr. Mac-
Donald,
Lord Arnold
is also Pay-
master Gen-
eral in the
Labor
Government



P. & A.

**SIR
ROBERT
VANSIT-
TART**
Under-
Secretary
of State for
Foreign
Affairs,
who was
present at
the confer-
ences at the
Hoover
camp on the
Rapidan
River



Bassano, Ltd.

ISHBEL MacDONALD

The Prime Minister's daughter, his constant
companion, was cordially entertained by Mrs.
Hoover and Lady Howard, wife of the British
Ambassador.

THE RHINELAND FREED FROM ENEMY OCCUPATION



British troops starting for home on Sept. 23, in accordance with the agreement reached by the powers at The Hague Reparation Conference on Aug. 23

Times Wide World

BRITISH TROOPS BEGIN THE GREAT EVACUATION



Times Wide World

THE SECOND LEICES- TER- SHIRES LEAVING KOENIG- STEIN

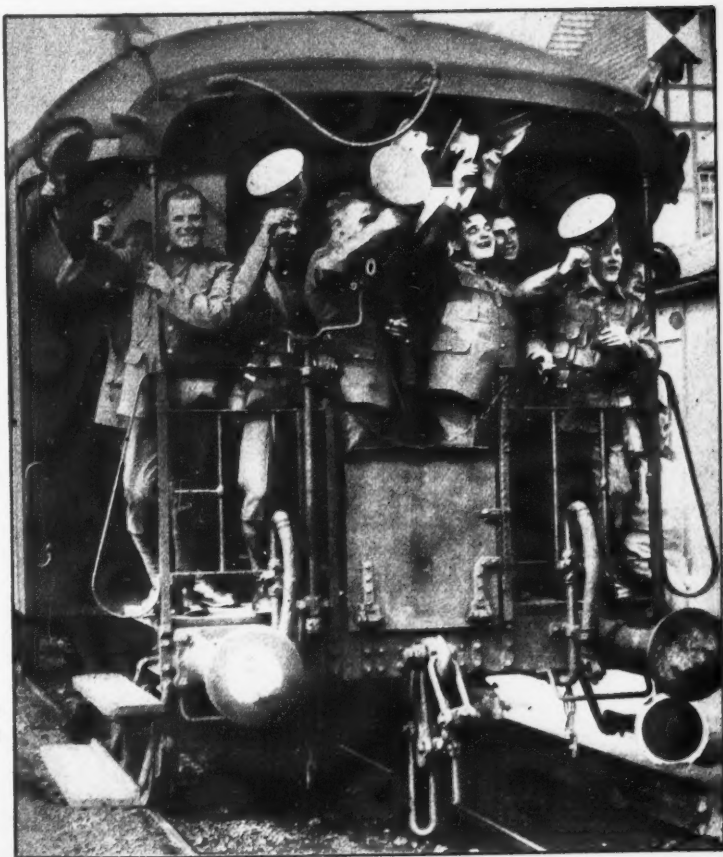
Emptying the barracks of the 600 men who for eleven years had garrisoned that German town



Times Wide World

ENTRAIN- ING FOR ENGLAND

The Tommies waving good-bye to their friends as they pulled out of the Koenigstein station



NEW SPEED RECORDS IN THE AIR



Times Wide World THE SUPER- MARINE

ROLLS-ROYCE S6

The tiny blue and gold British seaplane which won the Schneider Trophy in the races between Italy and England at Calshot, near Southampton, on Sept. 7. In the same plane Squadron Leader Orlebar five days later established a new world record by attaining an average speed of 357.7 miles an hour, faster than any man has ever traveled. Note Squadron Leader Orlebar being carried ashore



Times Wide World FLYING OFFICER WAGHORN

The member of the British team whose average speed of 328.64 miles an hour defeated the Italians and retained the Schneider Trophy for England

MEXICO ATTEMPTING A BLOODLESS ELECTION



Acme

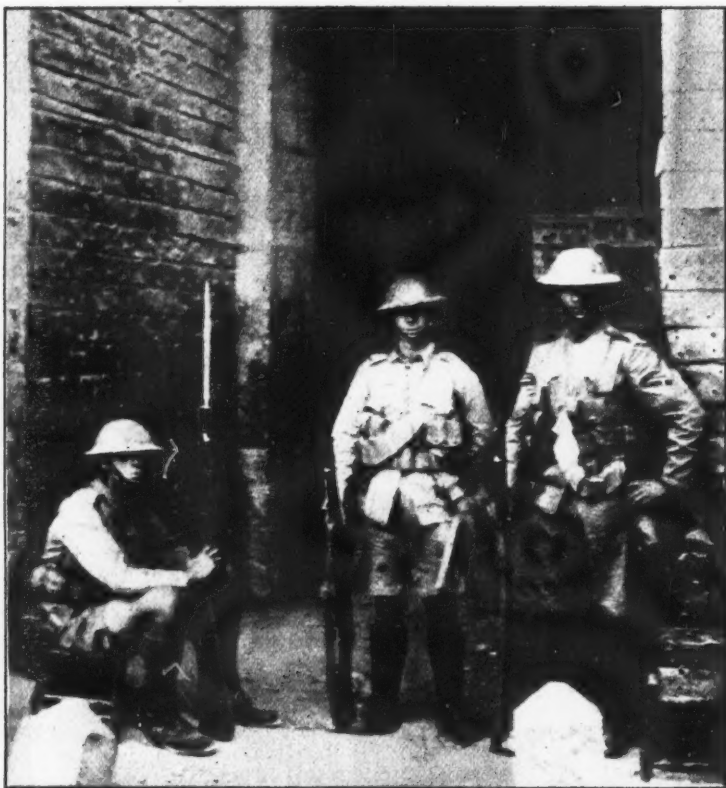
**JOSE
VASCONCELOS**
Anti-Re-electionist candidate for President to succeed Provisional President Portes Gil in the election on Nov. 17. His supporters were involved in riots at the municipal elections in Vera Cruz during September



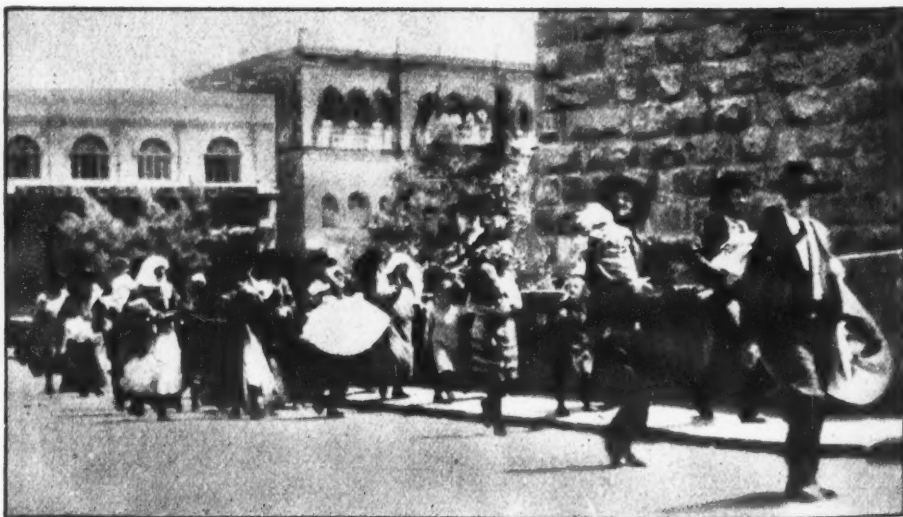
Acme

**PASCUAL ORTIZ
RUBIO**
Candidate of the National Revolutionary party, whose followers were also implicated in municipal election riots

BRITISH PATROL PALESTINE AFTER—



Times Wide World
**BRITISH
SENTRIES
IN
JERUSA-
LEM**
Guarding the
Damascus Gate
to prevent fur-
ther riots be-
tween Arabs
and Jews



Times Wide World

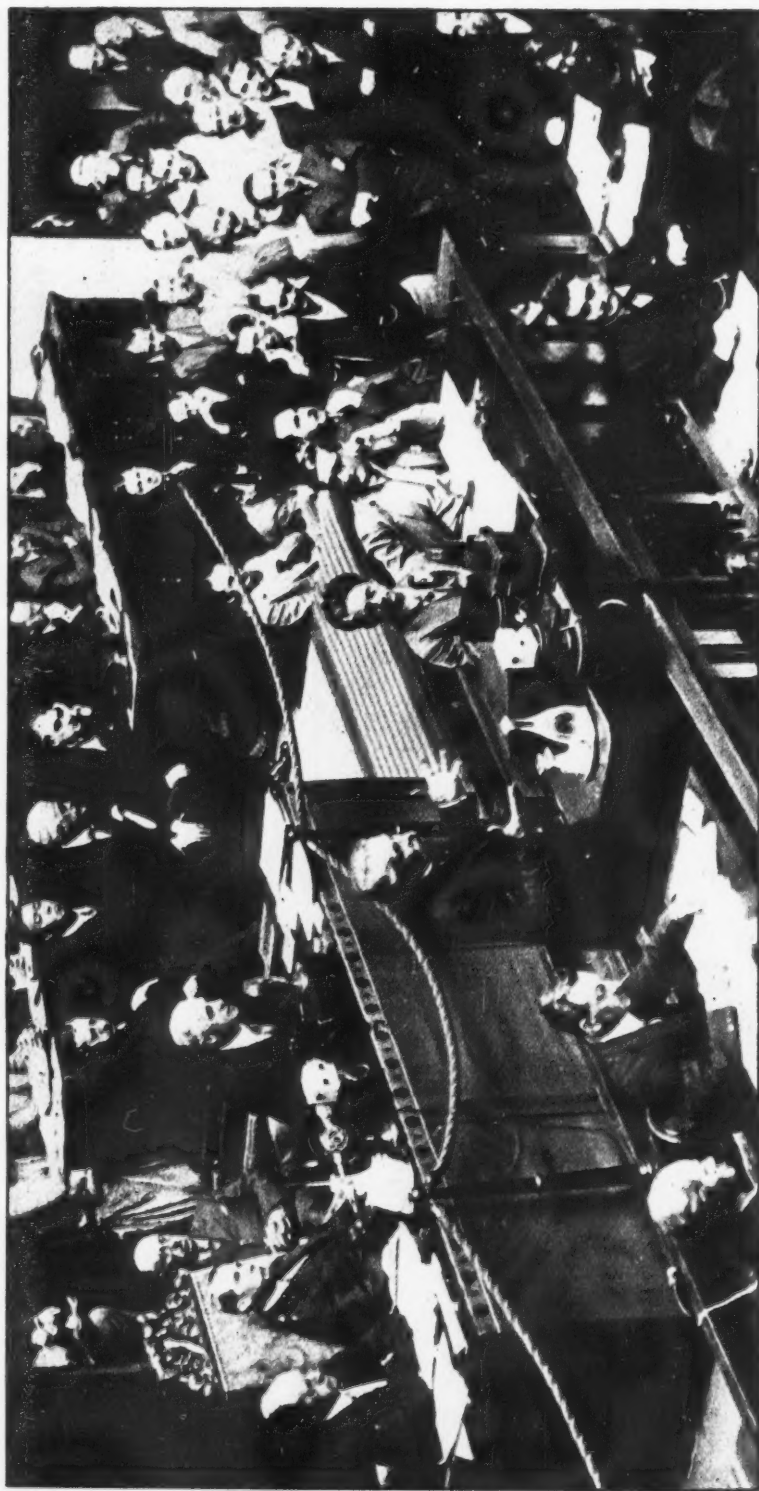
JEWISH REFUGEES
Families fleeing from Jerusalem to escape murder at the hands of the
Moslems

ARABS SPREAD REIGN OF TERROR



Times Wide World
INTERIOR OF THE SYNAGOGUE AT HEBRON
Arab destruction of the Jewish place of worship during the riots. The Rabbi's
prayer shawl lies in the foreground

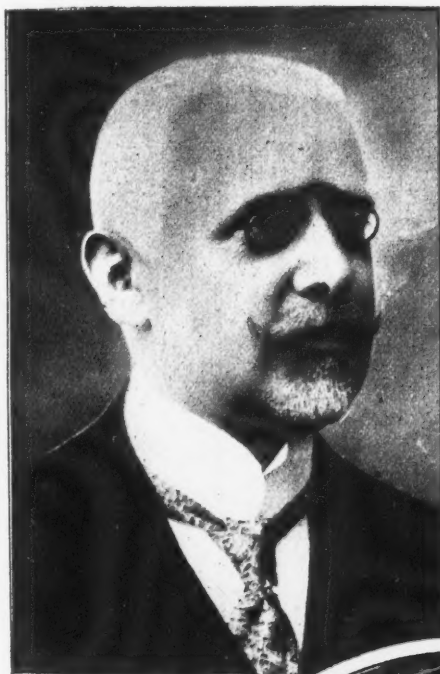
REAL PROGRESS AT THE TENTH LEAGUE ASSEMBLY



PREMIER ARISTIDE BRIAND OF FRANCE Speaking before the League of Nations Assembly in September, M. Briand outlined his idea for a "United States of Europe." At this League session France also approved the "Optional Clause" and the "General Act" for obligatory arbitration

Times Wide World

THE NEW AUSTRIAN CABINET



Times Wide
World
**JOHANN
SCHOBER**
Austrian
Chancellor,
who
succeeded
Ernst
Streeruwitz,
on Sept. 25.
Though not
allied with
any
political
party, he
is a dem-
ocrat in
policy



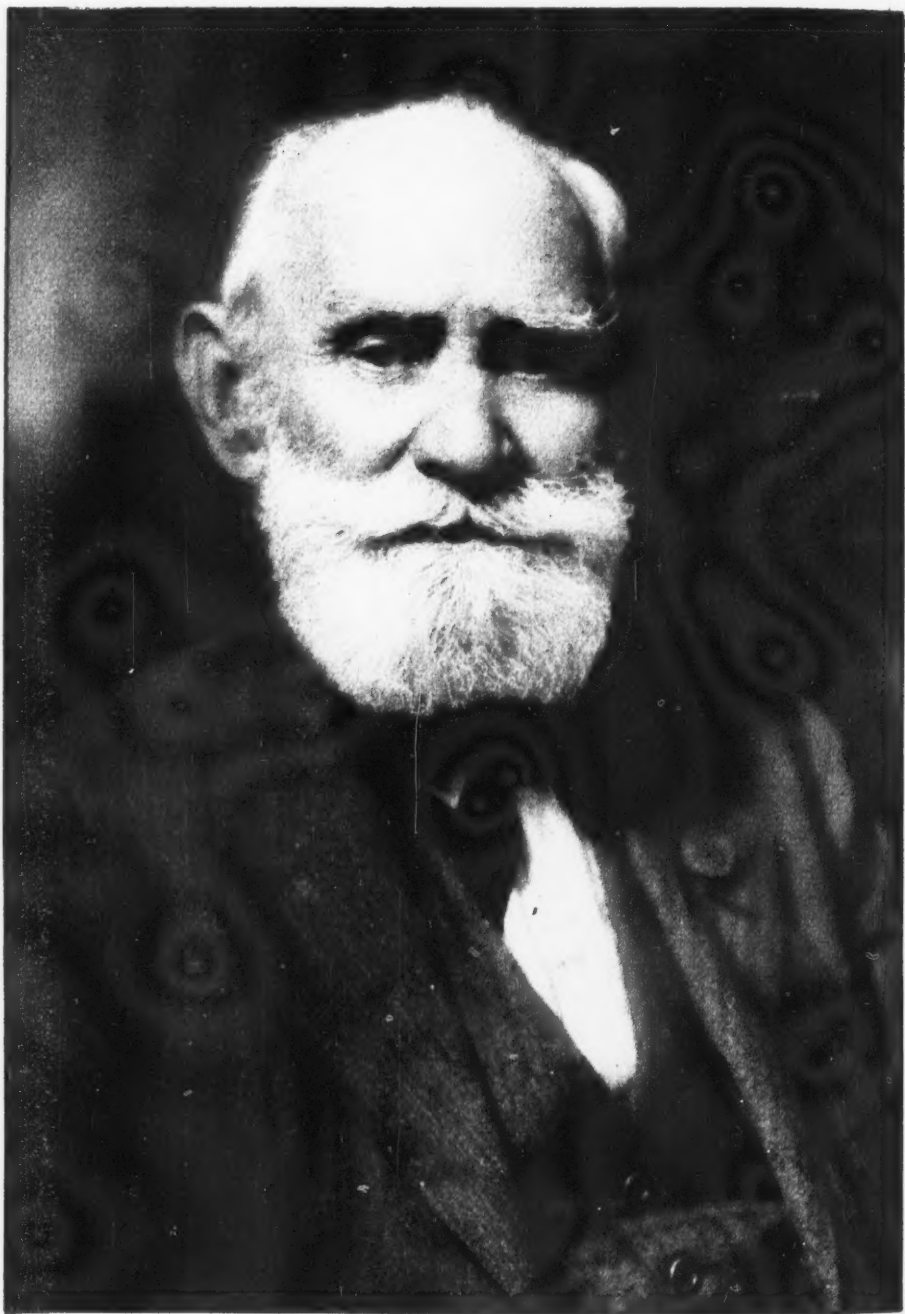
Times Wide
World
**JOSEPH
RED-
LICH**
A Harvard
professor,
he was
recalled to
Austria to
become the
new
Minister of
Finance



DR. MICHAEL HAINISCH
Austria's former President, who
emerged from retirement to become
Minister of Commerce and Commu-
nications in the Schober Cabinet



GREAT RUSSIAN SCIENTIST



Bachrach

IVAN PAVLOV

The only outspoken enemy of Communism who is accorded complete freedom in Russia by the Soviet Government, which on the occasion of his eightieth birthday on Sept. 27 presented his laboratory near Leningrad with a \$50,000 endowment

INVESTIGATING "BIG NAVY" PROPAGANDA



Harris & Ewing

THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

Senators Allen, Shortridge (Chairman) and Robinson, appointed to bring to light the activities of William B. Shearer, who attended the Geneva Arms Conference in 1927 as the paid propagandist of large American shipbuilding interests



Times Wide World

WILLIAM B. SHEARER

Who protested on the witness stand that his activities as propagandist were purely patriotic



Acme

CHARLES M. SCHWAB

Chairman of the Board of the Bethlehem Steel Company, who testified that he did not know Shearer was employed to represent one of his subsidiary companies

FRANCE'S "TIGER" IN RETIREMENT



Times Wide World

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

The veteran statesman who was 88 on Sept. 28 is writing his memoirs at his country home at Saint-Vincent-Sur-Jar

Current HISTORY

New Modes in Biography

By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

AUTHOR OF *The Founding of New England* AND OTHER WORKS ON AMERICAN HISTORY

MAN'S CURIOSITY as to his fellow-man is perennially insatiable, often vulgar, sometimes cruel. It extends from the patient deciphering of a cuneiform text by a lonely scholar in order to discover facts about some Assyrian, dead these seventy centuries, in whom no one but a few other scholars will be interested, to the colossal mob-hunt of a whole nation to eavesdrop on a Lindbergh during his honeymoon. The satisfaction of this curiosity is, perhaps, the most paying function of the daily press. In book publishing it has swollen the department of biography to gigantic proportions. From 1900 to 1915 over 500 biographies a year were published in England alone, and the stream is steadily swelling. Although I have not the figures at hand, it would probably be conservative to estimate the daily average output of England, America, France and Germany at half a dozen volumes a day.

No man can keep up with this enormous output, but as one tries to bring some order out of the welter of new volumes, he can classify them with considerable ease. We may divide them into the "debunking," the "psychologi-

cal," the "psychoanalytic," the "jazz-impressionistic," and so on, if we choose. Such classifications, however, lie rather obviously on the surface. They are descriptions of form or type. I prefer, myself, to divide them into those which derive from superiority and inferiority complexes, to adopt the current and convenient Freudian jargon.

One claim made by all of them, however unfounded it may be, is that they portray the *true* and the *real*. The first question, of course, is, What is true or real? Those who write and read with a superiority complex find these qualities to lie in a "scientific" treatment and interpretation of their subject. Those, on the other hand, who write and read with an inferiority complex first establish for themselves a scale of values and then pick out those qualities or acts in their subjects which fit into or illustrate values in that scale. However much individual volumes in these two classes may resemble each other on the surface, I believe that they differ profoundly in motive and origin.

The subjects themselves may cover the entire history of the race—biographies of anybody and everybody

from Tut-ankh-Amen to Al Smith—but in spite of the infinite heterogeneity of, say, 4,000 volumes published in the last year, they form, from another standpoint, but a single biography. They may be regarded as a single work reflecting the mass mind of 1928.

The first class of biographies noted above derive from the enormous preoccupation of the present age with science and the belief that such facts as can be studied "scientifically" possess a superior validity. The possession of the trifling knowledge of the present day in psychology, endocrinology and other sciences has induced an amazing superiority complex, or, if you prefer, a "swelled head." Harry Elmer Barnes says that all biographies written before 1900 are "rhetorical goose eggs" because there was "no valid psychology" before the last generation. More recently he has gone further and told us that a historian or biographer must master physiological chemistry, the glands, arterio-sclerosis and all the rest of disease and physiology. Harold Nicholson predicts in his *Development of English Biography* that, in the future, biography will become a branch of science and we shall have, among other forms, biographies based on the influence of endocrine glands and the internal secretions. If I may say so, this is sheer drivel. As usual we have to go to France for sanity. "*Que savons-nous sur l'histoire médicale des grand hommes du passé?*" (What do we know about the medical history of the great men of the past?) writes Maurois in his *Aspects de la Biographie*. "*Que saura-t-on dans l'avenir sur ceux du présent?*" (What will be known in the future about those of the present?) "Who," he continues, "at this moment is making notes on the internal secretions of Einstein, studying the endocrine glands of Paul Valéry or recording the dreams of Bertrand Russell?"

LYTTON STRACHEY'S WORK

Thus far, for the most part, our new scientific, superiority-complex bio-

graphers have confined themselves to interpreting their subjects according to the "science" of psychology and, more narrowly, psychoanalysis, which are among the least firmly established, it may be noted, on a scientific basis, of all our branches of knowledge. Among the psychological school of biographers the unquestioned leader and by far the most influential practitioner is Lytton Strachey. In many respects his work is as admirable as it is entertaining. In his latest work, *Elizabeth and Essex*, he shows scant sympathy with the medical school. Of few figures in the past do we know as much physiologically as we do of his subject Elizabeth, but, he says, "our knowledge, both of the laws of medicine and of the actual details of her disorders, is too limited to allow of a definite conclusion." He is an extremely able interpreter of character, and his portraits of Elizabeth, Victoria and others may be the truth, but I deny that they possess scientific validity, once beyond the realm of attested fact.

It is obvious that in writing the life of any one regarding whose life and acts there is a large mass of available material, selection is inevitable. On this selection the nature of the biography depends. Strachey develops in his own mind a psychological character for his heroine and makes his selection of facts fit into this character. Psychologically, his Elizabeth, his Victoria, his Florence Nightingale are merely these people as they are envisaged by him. The thesis remains purely personal. What we get is Strachey's reaction to his sitter. When, for example, for four pages, he recounts the thoughts that pass through Elizabeth's mind, we are getting fiction as pure and undefiled as anything Thackeray tells us about Becky Sharp. His best disciple, Nicholson, says that biography is distinguished from history as being the story of an individual, and from fiction as being truth. Such re-creating of another person's thoughts is not truth. It is, at best, a shrewd guess, though it may closely (and, again may not)



Champlain Studios

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

approximate the truth when done by a master of character analysis.

There is, however, only one Strachey, and his influence has been little short of disastrous. The public cares nothing about distinguishing between his fact and his fiction. As soon as he leaves established facts, he works in exactly the same way as any competent master of character drawing in fiction, and because he is a master, he has achieved enormous popularity. The school of vastly inferior writers that has sprung up about him are for the most part engaged in writing what are merely biographical novels. Rarely, however, like Maurois in his *Ariel*, do they have the intellectual integrity and decency to call their work a "Shelley Romance." For the most part, they play on the public's belief that it is getting "real" biography scientifically interpreted, and so combine the benefits to be derived from the markets for both fiction and biography. The historic background gives an illusion of reality, and the

authors claim for their imaginary conversations and their tracing of thoughts a scientific validity in modern "psychology" that is utterly unfounded. That Caesar crossed the Rubicon is a fact, but the greatest psychologist living, possessing what no biographer can possess, complete knowledge of the "science," could not, with scientific accuracy, reconstruct Caesar's thoughts before he decided to return to Rome. It is doubtful if he could even make any shrewder guess at them than any man these past nineteen hundred years who had had wide experience of life and men. To say that any one who wrote biography before this generation laid only rhetorical goose eggs is to talk superiority-complex tommy-rot.

For most practitioners of this "scientific" school of psychological biography, it is far easier to imagine what a person may have *thought* than to weave the facts of what he *did* into a readable (and salable) narrative. The public gets all the "kick" of fiction with the soothing sense that they are dealing with something "real" and "scientific." That many of the biographers are not even thoroughly grounded in psychology is patent enough. As for careful study of their subjects from this most difficult standpoint, it is merely necessary to figure how much time they could have had for consideration when turning out a big volume every year or so, or even oftener. In one case I happen to know of, a biographer was sent for by a publishing house. He was told a life of So-and-so was wanted in so many months. The biographer remarked that he did not know a thing about the man. He was told he would be given a list of what to read, a check for \$5,000 was passed, and in due course the "true" life came out.

PSYCHOANALYTIC NONSENSE

As to having any scientific validity, the psychoanalytic biography is even worse off than the psychological. Clothed in Freudian jargon, a book is considered by the mob as having a claim to be considered ultra-modern

and eruditely scientific. Unfortunately for my purpose, the noted biographical attempt made by Freud himself is not allowed to circulate in America, and this magazine would not get through the mails if I discussed the work in frank detail. In a word, it is an effort to reconstruct the life of Leonardo da Vinci, even to the smile of the Mona Lisa, by means of interpreting a fantastic memory he records as having had of an incident in his childhood. As the author proceeds through "it is quite possible," "we consider it probable," "we further assume" and a whole phantasmagoria of incredibly unscientific assumptions, he grows gradually more certain in his pronouncements until he sums up at the end as facts concerning Leonardo what he has been able "to discover concerning the course of his psychic development." This psychoanalysis has proved a most dangerous tool in the hands of all who have used it. Barnes, for example, considers that it is very easy to see why Hamilton and Jefferson emerged as leaders if we consider the factors surrounding their childhood, factors no different, as he gives them, from those surrounding the childhood of hundreds of other children who did not become leaders. Harlow traces Sam Adams's part in the Revolution to an inferiority complex, forgetting that thousands of other men of the time had the same. O'Higgins explains Mark Hanna by a clash between an impurity complex and a biologic urge to secure the esteem of his fellows. And so the game goes on, the biographers utterly blind to the fact, first, that they are dealing with mere guesses, and, second, that whatever influence certain factors or traits may have had, they cannot explain the whole of these men and their careers. If ever half-baked knowledge paraded under the name of science it does so in psychoanalytic biography.

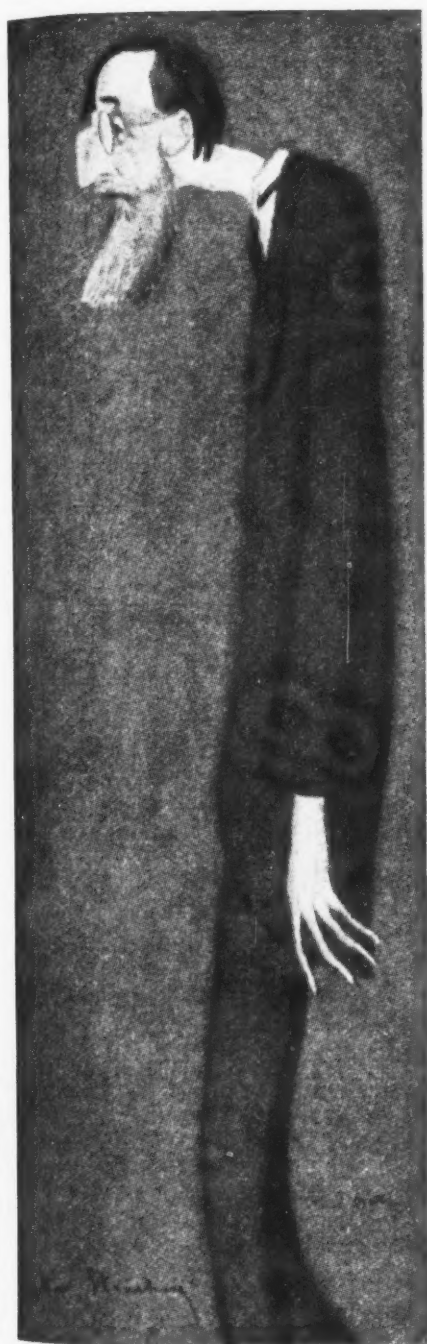
We know, definitely and conclusively, as yet, little or nothing of these things scientifically. As applied to persons long dead, they are merest guesses in any case. One of the leading psychi-

atrists in the United States told me that the author of one of the finest biographies ever published in America sent two chapters to him for criticism in which the author had attempted to prove that at one time his subject was suffering from a certain mental disorder. The psychiatrist told him that even with the living subject before a specialist for personal examination it was no easy task to diagnose, and that in the case of a person who could not be personally examined it was utterly impossible. The chapters were omitted, but had they been included the public would have hailed the book as a "scientific" biography of the "new" school.

SUPERIORITY-COMPLEX SCHOOL

As I have said, every biographer, like any historian or artist, has to select the facts that he shall include. The "new" biographer and his readers of the superiority-complex school smile at the older biographies or at such recent ones as Beveridge's *Lincoln*, which are in reality far more scientific than their own, in so far as at least they will have nothing to do with facts that are not completely and soundly authenticated. What the new biographers of the school I have noted are doing is to select such facts as fit the taste and interest of the public in the present age, clothing them in a pseudo-scientific form to appeal to the most powerful cult of the age, the cult of science. It will be long before science will allow us to predict or trace human conduct. Human nature and the web of circumstance in which every human life is enmeshed are infinitely complex. Caesar and Napoleon were epileptics, but does that explain their careers? So have millions of other men been, without bestriding the world. All this medical biography is too general to signify, and psychology at present is in so inchoate a state as a science as to be in danger of being laughed out of court if it does not mend its ways. It is about as useful in the hands of an ordinary biographer as a stick of dynamite.

When we come to the other school



From *Observations*, William Heinemann, 1926

LYTTON STRACHEY
From a cartoon by Max Beerbohm

of biography, that which I have described as springing from an inferiority complex, we are dealing with quite a different aspect of our age. Democracy and universal education have combined to bring into existence a vast new public capable of reading. It is a public without cultural standards, whatever it may be in time to come. It has merely suddenly become literate. For the most part it has no desire to submit itself to the hard work and intellectual training that culture entails. It wants to be amused and have its ego fed. Above all, it wants to consider itself as good as any other class or any other age. In its soul it may know that it is not cultured, that it is not mannered, that it is not great, but no one cares willingly to admit that he is inferior. In an Oriental society of permanent castes or at certain periods of Western European civilization when society was ordered and stable, the sting of inferiority has been to a certain extent removed. In a society in which change of position in the scale is not possible, there is no personal stigma attached to an inferior position. It is fate, kismet. In a society where any position, social, economic, intellectual, ethical, is theoretically possible of attainment, inferiority of status does carry a stigma, which is equally resented whether due to circumstance or to mere personal laziness or inefficiency. In the complete instability of modern society, a sense of inferiority has become intolerable.

It is not thus intolerable merely to the so-called lower classes who feel this new need to assert their own equality with the best. To a certain extent large sections in all of society are parvenus in the new world created by applied science. We have our radio, telephone, luxurious liners, our public hotels as sumptuous as royal palaces. We have harnessed the lightning, and the waterfalls do our bidding. We make our voices heard ten thousand miles. We have crossed the ocean in a day. We weigh the stars. But with it all has come a spiritual malaise. In growing all-powerful, man has lost his own

sense of greatness. We have lost the dignity that at least religion gave to life. Our ethics have dissolved. Science in the popular mind has made man a mere animal, if not a mere automatic switchboard of incoming and outgoing "calls"—impressions and reactions.

With all this has come, for the time being, an unconscious sense of inferiority. We are rich and powerful beyond any previous age, but the other ages had a sense of dignity, of possible greatness in life and conduct, of values in life that we have not. We know it, and, like every class which has felt that some other class possesses qualities of value that it lacks, we tend to defend ourselves by emphasizing our own vulgarity while throwing mud at the others. These two great groups, the utterly uncultured but literate lower class and a good part of the so-called upper but now disillusioned class, have, in my opinion, together called into existence the vast flood of biographies that come under the inferiority-complex type.

Was there in the past a statesman who was really great and incorruptible? Was there a poet or painter who believed in the greatness of his art? Were there scholars who cared nothing for the world? Were there men who, human enough and failing often for that reason, yet kept a sense of the intrinsic dignity and worth of human nature? Are there such today? Then away with them! Crucify them! Or show us that they not only sinned but were hypocrites, little men, smaller even than ourselves! Let us bolster up our self-esteem not by slowly working out for ourselves again a new philosophy of life but by pulling down all men of all times to our level. Set up the "debunking" school of biography and be quick about it.

THE CULT OF OBSCENITY

The school has had an enormous vogue because its public is naturally the largest. That there should be a reaction against the old filiopietistic school both in history and biography

was right enough, but the new debunking school has now gone far to the opposite extreme. In what purports to be, for example, a complete biography of Franklin, scarcely to mention his elaborate plan for a union of the Colonies while giving, as I recall, five pages to a smutty skit, is to paint as wholly false a picture of the man as to pretend that he was an asexual saint. In the foreword to the latest life of Caesar "we see the hundred-per-cent Romans brawling drunkenly in their Forum—hurling execrations at one another in their Senate house—lying on the cushions of their litters * * *

—gloating sadistically, in their amphitheatres and circuses, over the butchery of unhappy gladiators with starved wild animals. They are fat, heavy-jowled men with greedy, cruel eyes. To make the picture perfect all they need is big cigars." That there were plenty of Romans of that type is true enough, but to explain and paint the Rome of the period of Caesar as solely made up of that sort is not to explain it at all. It is as far from being "scientific" as it is to explain Thomas Jefferson, as has been attempted, from an inferiority-anti-authority complex due to his father having died when the boy was fourteen and of his having been brought up with a mother and six sisters.

Again, we come to the problem of selection of material. In this type of biography it is evidently selected solely with a view to picking the last vestige of greatness off all humanity, past as well as present, when the selection is not simply, though not frankly, pornographic. Many of these biographies remind me of the tourist who found himself on the ground floor room of a hotel in a mining camp with no curtain to the window. Having hung up his undershirt to afford some shelter from prying eyes, he soon found it drawn aside as a man looked in. When the intruder was asked what his business was, he answered, "I jest wanted to see what was going on in here that was so damned private." Descriptive of



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others we might quote the anecdote of John Fox Jr. when he read some of his stories about mountain whites to them themselves. A storm broke loose, and a voice shouted, "If he's tellin' the truth, he ain't no gentleman, and if he ain't, then by God, he's a liar."

To class any of the new biographies as more scientific than the substantial scholarly type is, as we have tried to show, an utterly hollow pretense. They either express, as in the psychological school, a personal point of view and a personal interpretation; or, as in the psychoanalytic school, a half-baked, pseudo-scientific effort to explain character and events from inadequate and, as yet, highly disputable scientific bases; or, lastly, as in the inferiority-complex school, a mere effort all too often to swell the ego of the reader by belittling the subject, under the guise of "humanizing" him.

What is the outcome likely to be of the present confusion in biography as in all other aspects of modern life?

If, as I have said, the multifold biographical writing of any period is, from one point of view, merely a picture of the mind of that period itself, the answer is that our methods of writing biography will alter as the mass mind alters, and no sooner. A period that is interested in ethical values will ask to have those stressed in the lives of the people about whom it reads. A period that is interested in what goes on in the bathroom will find biographers willing to pry there for them. But as there are various types of individual minds in all periods, so there are various sorts of biographies written, and we have all types today. And there are not a few signs that the times are changing. As I have written elsewhere, the whole metaphysical basis of science is changing rapidly, and, though it may take some time, the current of popular thought will come to be influenced in its turn. In painting, I have just noted in Paris, there is a decided slump in the vogue of green nudes and other mysteries of the "new art." What is more notable is that the prices have crashed. With all the blurbs about the "real John Doe" and the "true Richard Roe," in biography, it is noteworthy that the sales of Beveridge's *Lincoln* have been simply astounding, and have far outdistanced those of any "new" biography.

LACK OF STANDARDS

As long as we have a large class that is literate without having any standards, we shall undoubtedly have biography written that is neither science, art nor literature. Much of it has no more right to be considered seriously than the great mass of movie stuff that is put on the market for a similar type of consumer. Fears have been expressed that the taste for biography that really attains to high standards of scholarship or literature may be vitiated by all the "easy reading" lives with which the shops are flooded. I rather doubt it, although I am not particularly optimistic as to the age. The people who have genuine taste and standards have always been in the very small minority

in any age, and although at present, because of the great increase in the number of readers, they undoubtedly form a smaller percentage of them than of old, I doubt if they form a smaller proportion of society as a whole. Possibly the contrary is the case. There have always been people whose taste ran to obscene scrawls on walls, just as there have always been those higher in the scale who were dazzled by paste jewelry of the Guedalla sort.

Perhaps in time, also, the label of science will be better understood, as will also the fact that a man is no more "human"—perhaps, indeed, essentially less so—when he is saying "God damn" than when he is saying "*Pater noster*," even when he is equally sincere in both expressions. Meanwhile, one duty that lies before critics is clear, and that is to say the truth about books as they come out; to distinguish clearly for the reader between the genuine science, in the sense of exact knowledge, of a book like Beveridge's *Lincoln*, and the pseudo-scientific balderdash of, for example, most of the psychoanalytic school; to distinguish between the scholarly presentation of facts, and the personal interpretation of states of mind, even when the latter are made with all the skill and charm of style of a Strachey. As for much of the rest, it is as little worth a competent critic's attention as any other form of passing

amusement devised for the mob. These latter books have, perhaps, to be chronicled, but to treat them seriously is merely to give them an unmerited importance. In the present state of current criticism in America, however, I doubt if even the compiled scribblings on a Pompeian latrine would fail to find *some* reviewer who would hail it as a "profound psychological study, a human document of the first importance."

Literature of any genre is but the reflected light from that of the life of its period. As the light of life itself brightens or darkens, as it turns red or blue or white, so does the literature that reflects it. We cannot predict the future of biography without knowing the future of the mind of society, and he would be a courageous prophet who would forecast that, even a decade at a time. Interest in material, taste in form, shift and alter, but it is not likely that *The Hairy Ape* is greater than *Macbeth* or *Prometheus Chained*. It is different. Nor is it likely that any biography written now is any greater than ever before merely because its selection of facts and its mode of expression have changed. It is different. And, except in so far as it refuses to take account of any but proved and accredited facts, it is, in any example that has come my way, assuredly no more "scientific."

The Potsdam Conference

New Evidence Corroborating Ambassador Morgenthau's Account

The story of the Potsdam Crown Council of July 5, 1914, has been fruitful of violent debates between the historians in assessing the responsibility for the World War. In the following article Professor Raymond Turner definitely establishes these facts: That the Crown Council did take place; that the German political and military chieftains were at this council notified by the Kaiser of the alarming international situation; that the Kaiser did anticipate war; and there the matter rests.

By *RAYMOND TURNER*

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

PROBABLY NO revelation relating to the immediate causes of the World War attracted more attention than that about a meeting of a "Crown Council" at Potsdam, July 5 and 6, 1914. At first thought, to prove that Germany had plotted the war begun in August, 1914, the story of a Potsdam meeting was cited as important evidence of Germany's guilt when the victors were drawing up the Treaty of Versailles. When revisionists afterward tried to undo this verdict, the story was denounced. A milder American protagonist wrote of "the legend of a 'Crown Council' at Potsdam * * * so naïvely reported by Mr. Morgenthau." The leading German revisionist champion spoke of "the legend of the 'Crown Council on the 5th or 6th of July,' which originated in hotel gossip." Later on it was the custom to refer to this charge as an example of the lies and "legends" invented at Germany's expense.

All that happened at Potsdam on the fateful days, July 5 and 6, 1914, is probably not yet known, and some of it may never be known. But enough has

come to light from German testimony to make it certain that revisionists generally have dealt with this subject in a most unsatisfactory way, while from evidence recently revealed it is certain not only that the story supposed to have been invented by allied propagandists came from German and from neutral sources but that much of what Morgenthau revealed had been told to others besides himself, and had by them been retold before his account was written.

Many people have been brought to believe that, save for slight, unimportant allusions to a Potsdam council or meeting, information about such an event was first given in the relation of Ambassador Morgenthau on the alleged basis of information furnished to him by Baron von Wangenheim, German Ambassador in Constantinople when the war began, this account appearing several years later; and determined effort has been made to impugn Mr. Morgenthau's account by ridicule and abuse.

Limited space makes impossible detailed examination of the whole sub-

ject here,¹ but the author establishes that, whatever may be the value of the Wangenheim story, it was known and discussed by others to whom he told it long before Mr. Morgenthau's narrative was known. Indeed, the most recent German account no longer attempts to deny this.

M. Bompard, French Ambassador in Constantinople in 1914, says that during August of that year rumors spread about a Crown Council at Potsdam, July 5, at which war had been resolved; and he says that these rumors were ascribed then to von Wangenheim.²

A DIPLOMATIST'S DIARY

In 1915 Lewis Einstein, the well-known author, then American agent in Turkey, now United States Minister to Czechoslovakia, was keeping a diary of events. On May 5, 1915, he wrote:³

It is hard to know exactly what Wangenheim's relation is with Berlin. He was one of those summoned at the famous council, held early last July, when the Emperor turned to all the different leaders and captains of industry, and asked them if they were ready for war. When asked if he could deliver Turkey, Wangenheim gave every assurance. * * *

On June 20, 1915, he wrote:⁴

I walked with Garroni [the Italian Ambassador] to Nishantash. On our way we met W—, who had just returned from Wangenheim. The latter is unwell and almost a nervous wreck. Garroni related to me that on July 15 last, the date of his birthday, Wangenheim, who had just returned from Berlin the day before, called to congratulate him. He told him that the Emperor, alarmed by the Russian military preparations, had summoned a conference of Ambassadors, Generals and leaders of industry. War had been irrevocably decided. The Archduke's murder was to furnish the pretext. An ultimatum would be presented to Serbia of a nature which she could not accept, and war would be declared forty-eight hours later. The German reasoning took into account the immediate crushing of France. There was greater uncertainty about England. Italy would be forced by German victory to fight with her. Such was the program.

Garroni told me that, freshly arrived here, he did not like to wire this hearsay news to Rome, in spite of its source, as he was sure that his colleague in Berlin must have done so. During the days of apparent lull which followed, he was glad not to have done so, convinced that Wangenheim must have been mistaken. The Emperor's yachting trip to Norway, as was intended, misled Europe with the belief that nothing was impending. Rome remained in ignorance when the storm burst, and could do no more than declare her non-participation. "If my telegram had been sent," Garroni said to me, "its publication would have furnished the clearest proof that the so-called attempts on the Emperor's part to keep the peace were all humbug."

Mr. Einstein has informed the author that these passages were written under the dates given, and that the diary has been "neither revised nor altered in any respect."⁵ It may be added that in 1917, about the time that his diary was printed, Mr. Einstein wrote to the *London Times* a letter which seems to have had little attention:⁶

The Marquis Garroni, late Italian Ambassador at Constantinople, related to me there (the entry is in my diary) that on July 15, 1914—his birthday—Baron Wangenheim, then German Ambassador to Turkey, who had returned from Berlin the day before, told him that the Emperor had summoned a conference, where he had been present and

¹The most complete account so far written is Dr. Kurt Jagow's *Der Potsdamer Kronrat, Geschichte und Legende* (Munich, 1928), exhaustive and excellent, though obviously designed to vindicate the German case. The author understands that the subject is treated at length in the forthcoming work of Professor Bernadotte Schmitt. No satisfactory study of the whole matter has appeared so far in English; but the best is the work of Renouvin, *The Immediate Origins of the World War* (New Haven, 1928), though written before the later revelations could be used.

²Bompard to Kurt Jagow, March 25, 1928: *Der Potsdamer Kronrat*, p. 19.

³*Inside Constantinople: A Diplomatist's Diary During the Dardanelles Expedition, April-September, 1915* (London, 1917), p. 24.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 128-130.

⁵Lewis Einstein to Raymond Turner, Prague, June 12, 1929.

⁶*London Times*, Aug. 4, 1917.



RAYMOND TURNER

at which war had been decided. The Archduke's murder was to furnish the pretext, and the plan was, after a few weeks' interval, to present an ultimatum to Serbia which she could not accept, and from which war would ensue within forty-eight hours. The Marquis Garroni related this incident also on his return to Italy. * * *

I heard the same story, however, while at Constantinople from another diplomatist, whom Baron Wangenheim told that a month before the outbreak of hostilities the Kaiser had summoned the leaders of the army, of finance and of industry, and asked them all if they were prepared for war. All replied they were, while Baron Wangenheim gave him the assurance that he was ready to answer for Turkey.

Recently publication of the first part of Salandra's recollections of Italy's neutrality—an important book that has not yet had much attention—gave further information and documentary evidence concerning what the Italian Ambassador reported, something that, outside of Italy, had previously been very little known.

In August, 1915, Italy declared war

on Turkey. Early in September Garroni, then back in his country, called on Sonnino, Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to a record written by Sonnino, during a discussion about responsibility, Garroni told him there was no doubt that in July, 1914, the German Government had been firmly determined to push things to war, believing the deficient preparation of France and of Russia made the moment specially propitious:⁷

Of this he had the best proof in a conversation with Wangenheim, German Ambassador at Constantinople, July 15, who had greeted him with the words: "We are on the eve of war [*Nous sommes à la guerre*]." Asked why he thought so, he explained that Austria would soon present to Serbia a remonstrance or protest for the assassination at Sarajevo, drawn up in such terms that it could under no circumstances be accepted, but would lead to the worst. The Emperor of Austria had hesitated much to do this, but Germany had urged him on and brought him to the decision.

A week later Garroni presented himself to the Premier, Salandra, who also made a written record of the conversation:⁸

The Marquis Garroni * * * has told me—and he had already related it to Sonnino—that July 15, 1914, Wangenheim, German Ambassador at Constantinople, back at that time from a meeting of German Ambassadors [*convegno di ambasciatori tedeschi*] in Berlin, had told him in confidence: "We are on the eve of war," explaining that Germany had thus decided, because convinced that Russia and France were preparing themselves for it, and that it was necessary to anticipate them.

On Garroni's inquiry how war would be brought about then, Wangenheim had replied that taking advantage of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke and his wife, at Sarajevo, June 28, there would be sent to Serbia such an ultimatum, that Serbia would not be able to accept it: hence war.

On Garroni remarking that Italians

⁷Copy printed in Antonio Salandra, *La Neutralità Italiana* [1914]: *Ricordi e Pensieri* (Milan, 1928), pp. 115, 116.

⁸Salandra's memorandum: *ibid.*, p. 117.

would hardly go to war to avenge an Austrian Archduke known to be hostile to Italy, Wangenheim answered it was to the interest of reigning dynasties to avenge such assassinations.

On Sept. 26, 1915, Salvatore Barzilai, shortly before made a member of the Italian Ministry, delivered an oration at Naples in which he said the Italian Government had just learned how the war had been premeditated; that July 15, a week before Austria dispatched her note to Serbia, Garroni had heard from Wangenheim something spoken in confidence but which he thought proper to communicate to his government when he returned, namely, that the note would be such as to render war certain.⁹

From the first Italians were astonished that Garroni had not reported to his government at once. Sonnino told him it would have been a more important revelation in 1914. Garroni answered he had then thought of the conversation as confidential, and also had supposed the government would receive information from Berlin. Salandra asking why Garroni had not telegraphed to San Giuliano received the same answer.¹⁰ Mr. Einstein says he himself had asked such questions:¹¹

One thing I remember distinctly about this conversation was Garroni's answer to my question why he had not at once informed his government. He gave as reason that he was new to his duties (he was not a career diplomatist) and that he felt skeptical about the information and feared making himself ridiculous. There was another reason unmentioned by him, but this only concerned Italian domestic politics.

Actually, Salandra and Sonnino were little pleased with Garroni's work recently in Turkey, and were further displeased by his failure to report at once an important disclosure. So he was retired without usual compliments and marks of distinction.¹² There was no disposition to doubt what he reported,



New York Times Studio

HENRY MORGENTHAU

Who, at the outbreak of the World War, was United States Ambassador to Turkey

however. Later on a writer noted that, while his failure to report at the time seemed inexplicable, yet it had been obviously to his disadvantage to do it later, and that this led to his retirement.¹³ Sonnino and Salandra conjectured that when he returned to Italy there was some other member of the embassy who knew of the Wangenheim disclosure, and that Garroni, fearing the matter would be divulged, resolved to be the first to speak.¹⁴ It was known now that at least one of Garroni's assistants was acquainted with the Wangenheim revelations.¹⁵ It should be noted that when public criticism of Garroni commenced, following the Barzilai speech, he began to emphasize what he may have spoken of slightly or vaguely before, that he had immediately sent his government some account, specify-

⁹*Corriere della Sera*, Sept. 27, 1915.

¹⁰*La Neutralità Italiana*, pp. 116, 117.

¹¹Letter to R. Turner, June 12, 1929.

¹²*La Neutralità Italiana*, p. 118.

¹³*Corriere della Sera*, Aug. 5, 1917.

¹⁴*La Neutralità Italiana*, p. 118.

¹⁵*Bompard to Kurt Jagow*, March 25, 1928; *Der Potsdamer Kronrat*, p. 22.

ing a communication to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 16, 1914. Such a paper has not been found, and a lengthy controversy ensuing has not entirely settled the question.¹⁶

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU'S ACCOUNT

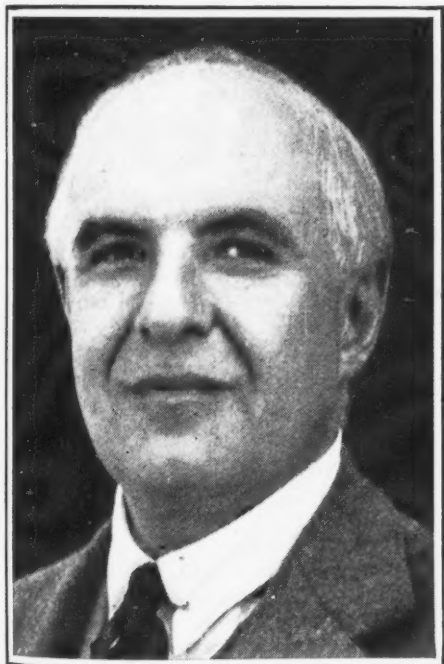
Ambassador Morgenthau made the Wangenheim account of Potsdam deliberations widely known to the English-speaking world. His account first appeared in a newspaper in 1917.¹⁷ His reminiscences began to appear serially in May, 1918, and were afterward published with some alterations as a book.¹⁸ Actual composition was by Burton J. Hendrick, Mr. Morgenthau supplying the information orally and from his memoranda. His account, which has been often quoted and as often condemned and traduced, was as follows:¹⁹

¹⁶*La Neutralità Italiana*, pp. 119, 122, 123-5, 126, 127, 128.

¹⁷*New York World*, Oct. 14, 1917.

¹⁸*Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Garden City, 1918).

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.



Acme

LEWIS E. EINHSTEIN

I have already mentioned that the German Ambassador left for Berlin soon after the assassination of the Grand Duke, and he now revealed the cause of his sudden disappearance. The Kaiser, he told me, had summoned him to Berlin for an imperial conference. This meeting took place at Potsdam on July 5. The Kaiser presided and nearly all the important Ambassadors attended. Wangenheim himself was summoned to give assurance about Turkey and enlighten his associates generally on the situation in Constantinople, which was then regarded as almost the pivotal point in the impending war. In telling me who attended this conference Wangenheim used no names, though he specifically said that among them were—the facts are so important that I quote his exact words in the German he used—“*die Haeupter des Generalstabs und der Marine*” (the heads of the General Staff and of the navy), by which I have assumed that he meant von Moltke and von Tirpitz. The great bankers, railroad directors and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparations as the army itself, also attended. Wangenheim told me that the Kaiser solemnly put the question to each man in turn: “Are you ready for war?” All replied yes except the financiers. They said that they must have two weeks to sell their foreign securities and to make loans. At that time few people had looked upon the Sarajevo tragedy as something that would inevitably lead to war. This conference, Wangenheim told me, took all precautions that no such suspicion should be aroused. It was decided to give the bankers time to readjust their finance for the coming war, and then the several members went quietly back to their work or started on vacations. The Kaiser went to Norway on his yacht, von Bethmann-Hollweg left for a vacation and Wangenheim returned to Constantinople.

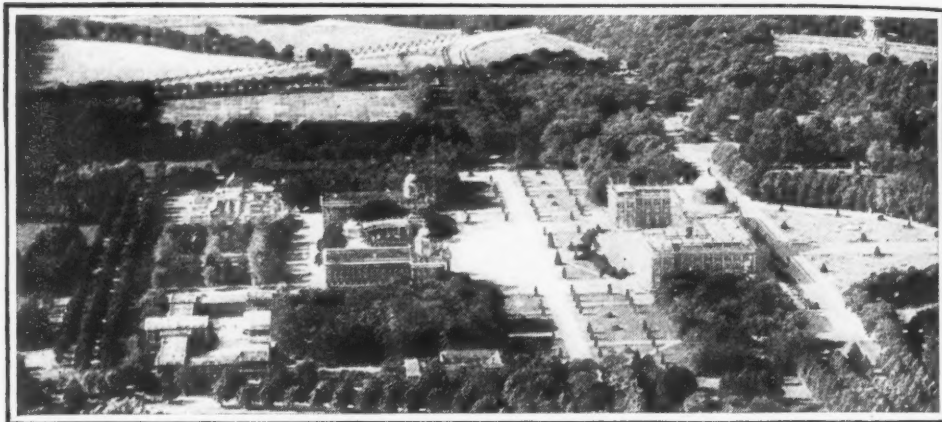
Extreme revisionists have attacked this as fabrication and “legend.” Others have tried to oppugn it by showing that certain parts of it are evidently not true, as that von Moltke and von Tirpitz were not present; that while Mr. Morgenthau's book went on to relate a decline in securities following the Potsdam decision, actually they sold about

as high on July 22—the day before the ultimatum to Serbia became known—as on July 5 or 6; and that the delay in sending the ultimatum was from other reasons.

CONFIRMATORY TESTIMONY

The author has here no space to examine the whole problem, but briefly he would observe that when Mr. Morgenthau wrote it was unknown, outside

days after July 7 there was marked selling of securities on various Exchanges, which puzzled financial critics, but which they then said were inspired by Vienna and Berlin. In 1919 at a time when Germans naturally wished to assume as little blame as possible for causing the war which they had lost, various German officials had none the less to admit that they had conferred with the Kaiser at Potsdam July



Ewing Galloway

The Neues Palais, Potsdam, where the conference took place

of limited circles in Germany, that Moltke and Tirpitz were not in Potsdam on the days in question and that the disclosures to the German investigating committee in 1919 that the acting heads of the General Staff and the Admiralty were in conference with the Kaiser at Potsdam on July 5 and 6 give to the cautious words of this part of Mr. Morgenthau's story an air of particular veracity. It is admitted that Wangenheim was summoned to Berlin and was at Potsdam.²⁰ His movements there have never been certainly accounted for by those who attack his reported statement. It is not known where several of the German Ambassadors were at this time. Lichnowsky, German Ambassador to England, says he afterward heard of the decisive meeting at Potsdam, July 5, where the Vienna inquiry received unqualified assent. For some

5 and 6, 1914, and that the possibility of a great war had then been discussed.

There can no longer be ground for accusing Mr. Morgenthau of having invented the Wangenheim revelations. The value of Wangenheim's account may, of course, still be questioned. On the one hand, an exceptionally well-informed Dutch newspaper correspondent, Dr. M. van Blankenstein, writing from Berlin on Sept. 4, 1914, reported on what he considered excellent authority a Crown Council (*kroonraad*) at Potsdam on July 5, and the German censor passed his account.²¹ It may, indeed, be supposed that the conferences were less formal than a council, but our information about these necessarily confidential matters remains scanty: not much study of the Prussian Crown Council has ever been made, not much

²⁰Jagow, *Der Potsdamer Kronrat*, p. 28.

²¹*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, Sept. 7, 1914; Aug. 1, 1917.

about it is known, and many of its meetings are said to have been informal with no written record taken.²² On the other hand, in 1915 Mr. Einstein wrote of Wangenheim: "As an Ambassador he lacks dignity. He is far too nervous, mercurial and journalistic in his methods."²³ It has been explicitly denied that the Kaiser saw him at Potsdam July 5. The ablest German writer who has considered the subject, who does not doubt that Wangenheim made utterances such as were reported, and who does not question his deep devotion to the Fatherland, supposes that he purposely so spoke to the Ambassador of Italy, ally of the Central Powers, and to the Ambassador of the United States, principal neutral power, to impress upon them the completeness of German foresight and preparation. Lichnowsky's motives he passes over sadly and leaves unexplained.²⁴ He criticizes Mr. Morgenthau's narrative in some details with respect to its various versions, but abandons completely the attempt to impugn it as a fabrication, and admits substantial confirmation in the evidence cited above.

In 1929 the author asked Mr. Morgen-

thau whether as a result of time, reflection and additional information meanwhile brought to light, he thought he had exaggerated what he reported or that the account was untrue. Removing any pledge of secrecy, he declared he remembered as though spoken yesterday what Wangenheim had told him, that he had not exaggerated and had no feeling then or since that Wangenheim was not telling the truth. In the midst of unceasing obloquy, ridicule and abuse he has repeatedly said he believed time would vindicate his report. In 1929 also the author asked the Marquis Garroni whether he would criticize or corroborate the Morgenthau account.²⁵ He replied that having read Ambassador Morgenthau's story he believed it true.²⁶ To Mr. Morgenthau he wrote:²⁷

What you have published in your book concerning the Potsdam meeting and about the statements made to you by Wangenheim is entirely correct, corresponding to what he confided to me July 15, 1914—without, however, alluding to that part which refers to the Ottoman Government, concerning which he did not inform me.

²²Letter of Veit Valentin to Heinrich Kanner, Potsdam, June 3, 1929.

²³*Inside Constantinople*, p. 25.

²⁴Jagow, *Der Potsdamer Kronrat*, pp. 29, 31.

²⁵R. Turner to the Marquis Garroni, Baltimore, Jan. 14, 1929.

²⁶Garroni to R. Turner, Rome, Feb. 14, 1929.

²⁷Garroni to Henry Morgenthau, Rome, April 18, 1929.

The Arab-Jewish Conflict in Palestine

The recent tragedy in Palestine, precipitated by the dispute between Arabs and Jews over the Wailing Wall, was only a manifestation of a fundamental situation of long-standing Arab discontent. Certain plans were proposed by the allied powers to the Arab leaders during the World War in exchange for their consent to fight on the allied side against the Turks. These plans, which implied the setting up of a unified and comprehensive Arab State (the Arabs contend that this included Palestine, but the Jews deny it), were altered by subsequent developments, and the Arabs have maintained ever since that this was a "betrayal." The establishment through the Balfour Declaration of a Jewish National Home in Palestine added to Arab discontent on both economic and racial grounds, and the recent outbreaks, which culminated in violence and bloodshed, are explained by Arab leaders as due to these grievances, categorically detailed.

The following two articles, one by a distinguished Arab leader, Ameen Rihani, Arab scholar and author, now living in New York City, who recently led a delegation of representative Arabs to lay the Arab case before Secretary of State Stimson, the other by Meyer W. Weisgal, American Jewish editor and Secretary of the American Zionists, set forth the respective viewpoints of Arabs and Jews on this conflict. The opportuneness of this is obvious, in view of the widespread confusion of ideas throughout the world, and especially in the United States, respecting the grounds of the Arabs' complaints and their present demands, and, on the other hand, the aims and purposes of the Zionist movement in Palestine.

I—Palestine Arabs Claim to Be Fighting for National Existence

By AMEEN RIHANI

AUTHOR OF *Maker of Modern Arabia*

IT is essential, for a thorough understanding of the Arab point of view in the Palestinian conflict, to give a brief outline of the Arab movement. Never have the Arabs been completely subjugated by the Turks, and never have they relinquished their claims to independence. They have fought for it in different parts of the Peninsula, where the Turks have tried

to penetrate and where they had but a precarious foothold. Many Turkish battalions were lost in the Yeman, were routed in the plains of Asir, were defeated in the deserts of Nejd. It was at the beginning of this century, however, when the three decisive victories were achieved. Ibn Saud, the present King of Nejd and the Hejaz, compelled the Turks to evacuate Central Arabia

in 1905 and Al-Hasa in 1913; the Imam Yahya, the present ruler of Al-Yaman (Yemen, the Arab State in southwest Arabia), besieged them in San'a in 1904 and forced them to surrender; and the Idrisi, in 1912, put them out of lower Asir. This is the beginning of the modern Arab movement in the Peninsula.

But in the north, in Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Syria and Palestine, the Turks had a stronger hold, a stranglehold upon the people, who, for many reasons, chiefly because they were divided among themselves, could not join in any of the uprisings in the south. They groaned under the Turkish yoke, now and then uttered a protest and were always discontented. But they abided their time, which seemed to have come with the first Turkish revolution.

SECRET ARAB SOCIETIES

Previous to 1908, however, there were secret Arab societies in Constantinople and Cairo whose aim was to consolidate the Arabs of the north, of Palestine and Syria and Iraq, and to establish a basis of political relations between them and the Arabs of the south. This idea, which was somewhat vague at the beginning, was made clear a few years later when the Young Turks adopted the policy of Turkifying the Arabs. To create a national spirit strong enough to resist this Turkifying process was the aim of the secret Arab societies; and when the Young Turks began to speak of Pan-Turanianism, the Arab leaders conceived the idea of Pan-Arabia. These leaders, Moslems and Christians, emerged from their coverts after the defeat of the Turks in the Balkan war, and in the Fall of 1913 they held a convention in Paris. This is the visible beginning of the Arab movement in the north, which since then sought to link itself with its sister movement in the south—in the Peninsula.

It is evident, therefore, that before the World War the Arabs of the Peninsula, with the exception of the Hejaz and parts of the Yeman and Asir, had emancipated themselves from the

Turks, and the Arabs of the north had begun their struggle for emancipation. But they needed a leader. The nationalist forces that were loosened everywhere required an all-controlling and an all-guiding hand; and even if the World War had been averted, I am of the belief that the hand would have been that of Sherif Hussein, who was then Grand Sherif of Mecca. Whether he could have succeeded in driving the Turks out of the northern Provinces, as well as out of the Hejaz, as Ibn Saud had driven them out of Nejd and the Idrisi out of Asir, is another question.

ANGLO-ARAB PACT OF 1916

But the World War was declared, and the interests of the Allies in the Near East were closely associated with the interests of the Arabs. The campaign against the Turks and Germans in Palestine, Syria and Iraq, as well as against the Turks that were still in the Hejaz and in southwestern Arabia, could not succeed, it was seen, without the help of the Arabs. The British Government, therefore, entered into negotiations on behalf of the Allies with the Sherif Hussein, who was, at that time, fast becoming the central figure in the nationalist, nay, in the Pan-Arab movement. The Sherif Hussein bargained with the British Government and finally got the pledge for what he wanted. During the negotiations ten or more of the Arab leaders were executed, by order of Jemal Pasha, in the public squares of Beirut and Damascus. This gave Hussein an additional cause for joining the Allies. The agreement between him and the British Government, through its Resident in Cairo, Sir Henry MacMahon, was concluded in January, 1916. Article I of this agreement is as follows:

The British Government agree to help in the formation of an Arab empire completely independent in its internal and foreign affairs, bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf, on the west by the Red Sea, the Egyptian frontier and the Mediterranean, and on the north by the boundary lines of the two vilayets of Aleppo and Mosul to the Euphrates and

Tigris and down to the Persian Gulf. The colony of Aden shall not be included in this State.

These boundaries clearly show that Palestine as well as Syria and Iraq is included in this Arab empire. Otherwise, to exclude Palestine, the River Jordan and Wadi Yarmouk should have been mentioned instead of "the Egyptian frontier and the Mediterranean." But no one in the British Government, I dare say, had any thought in those days of Zionism and a national home for the Jews in Palestine.

Two months later Sir Henry McMahon confirmed the agreement in a letter he wrote to the Sherif Hussein, dated March 10, 1916. "His Britannic

Majesty's Government," he says in that letter, "have approved of the plan and they acquiesce in all your demands."

About two months later, however, on the 17th of May, 1916, the governments of Great Britain and France, through their representatives, Sir Mark Sykes and M. George Picot, entered into a secret agreement in which Syria and Iraq were divided as spheres of influence between them. Evidently they did not agree about Palestine, which was not mentioned in the division. The reason for this I learned later, when in the Winter of 1916 I met in Paris a high official of the Belgian Government, who told me that the Allies were considering seriously the idea of giving Palestine to Belgium. These secret agreements the Sherif Hussein knew nothing about.

The Arabs took up arms against the Turks on the strength of the agreement of January, 1916, and the forces of the Sherif were not exclusively made up of the tribes. Many volunteers from Syria, Iraq and Palestine flocked to his standard and many Arab officers deserted the Turkish ranks to join his sons, the Emirs Feisal and Ali in the Hejaz. Here was a military manifestation of the combined Arab movements of the north and the south. It was for the cause, the cause of Pan-Arabia. And when the Sherif Hussein was made King and recognized by the governments of Great Britain and France, he was hailed as the great emancipator and the builder of an Arab empire. This was to be accomplished by the help of the British Government, which also furnished the sinews of war. The Arabs performed their side of the obligation by driving the Turks from the country across the Jordan and thus protecting the right wing of General Allenby's army. It is now admitted, not only by German military experts, but also by the French and the British, that were it not for the Arabs the campaign in Palestine would have met with disaster.

But the victory of the Allies did not mean a victory for the Arabs. On the contrary, the provinces that were



INTERNATIONAL
IBN SAUD
King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd

wrested from the Turks not only had no share in the fruits of victory but were subject to a rule which, economically at least, is not an improvement upon that of the Turks. It is even worse. It is a rule which a conqueror might impose upon a defeated people. Indeed, the Arabs of the north, who were enemy subjects by no will of their own, were treated as if they were the enemy; and their country—Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Transjordania—which was under one rule during the Turkish régime, was divided between France and Great Britain into four separate States with four different political administrations and as many economic barriers. This policy, aside from the injustice and the oppressive measures that have marked its enforcement, is contrary to the following joint declaration, which was issued by Great Britain and France in November, 1918:

The end aimed at by France and Great Britain is the complete and final enfranchisement of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations drawing their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native population.

But when the Allied Supreme Council at the Conference of St. Remo awarded mandates to the victors, "the free choice of the native population" was not taken into account. King Hussein protested in vain, and the British Government, instead of fulfilling its pledges made through him to the Arabs, sought to conclude with him a treaty in which he had to recognize the mandates and the divisions in the northern provinces. This he refused to do, and the treaty fell. Meanwhile, King Hussein's troubles were multiplying. About the time the negotiations with the British Government came to an end the long-standing dispute between him and Ibn Saud was coming to a head. The result was the *débacle* of 1925. Ibn Saud conquered the Hejaz and succeeded King Hussein, not only as the master of the two Holy Cities but also as the leader of the Pan-Arab movement.

The treaty of friendship and good un-

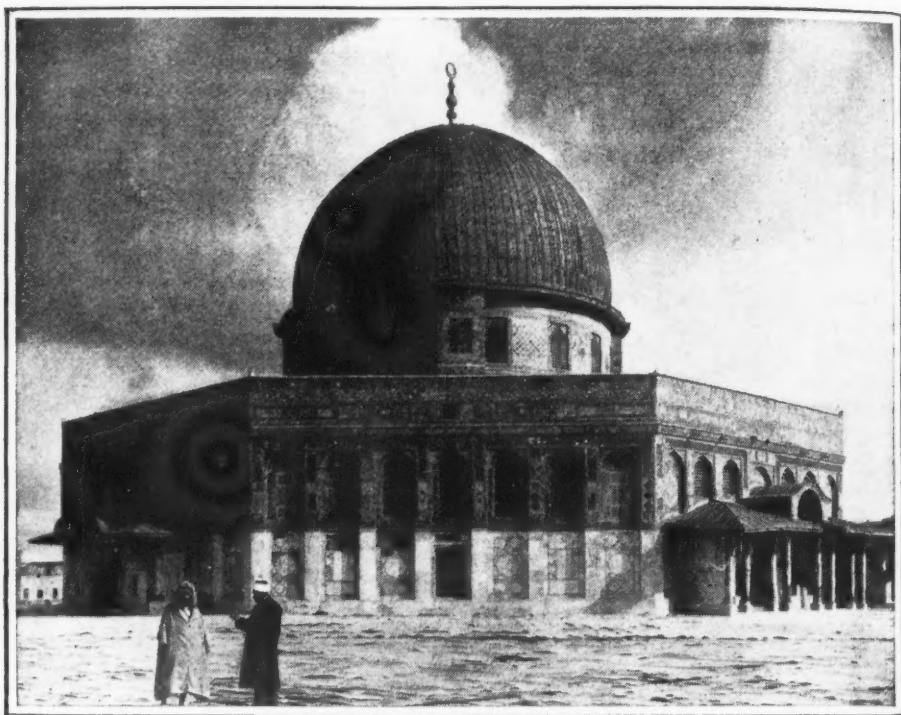


Underwood

FEISAL, KING OF IRAQ

On Sept. 19 it was announced that Great Britain would advocate admission of this Arab kingdom (now under a British mandate) to the League of Nations in 1932

derstanding which he concluded with the British Government in May, 1927, is in no way similar to the treaty that was to have been concluded with King Hussein. There is no mention in it of the mandate or the mandated provinces, and there are no tags to it, political or financial, that bind King Ibn Saud in other than a friendly alliance to the British Government. But in Article 6 of this treaty King Ibn Saud "agrees to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, whose rulers are in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government." Should these rulers, however, prefer in the future an agreement with King Ibn Saud, he could, without infringing the treaty, bring them, in a friendly and peaceful manner, under his Pan-Arab rule. As for Syria and Palestine, he stands, as we see, uncommitted. He is now the leader of the Pan-Arab movement and he carefully avoids the pitfalls that were fatal to his predecessor. He will not affirm an authority which he cannot back by force. He moves



THE DOME OF THE ROCK, JERUSALEM

slowly and it is seldom that he retraces his steps.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Arabs of the peninsula have always fought for their independence and have never been completely subjugated by the Turks; that the Arabs of the northern provinces several years before the World War started their struggle for emancipation; that the two movements for emancipation and consolidation were brought together under the leadership of ex-King Hussein; that the British Government agreed to help the Arabs to realize their dream of empire if they joined the Allies; and that Palestine, as well as Syria and Iraq, is included in this empire. It should also be noted that the Arabs have made sacrifices, in blood and money, to their cause before and during and after the World War, and that instead of getting "enfranchisement, complete and final," the northern provinces have been placed under a peculiar form of modern subjugation.

This is particularly true of Palestine, which is but a section of a country that is one in language, in race, in customs and traditions, in religion (excepting a few non-Moslem minorities), and in national aspirations. This has been so for more than thirteen hundred years, including the four hundred years of Ottoman rule. The Turks have not been able to assimilate the Arab or to change any of his racial and cultural characteristics. His dominant instinct, when it could not express itself in power, sought refuge in isolation. It was not conquered; it was only temporarily suppressed. It is well to recall the outstanding facts in history. The Greeks, after the death of Alexander the Great, occupied the northern part of Arabia, but they could not conquer the Nabateans, the ancient Arabs of the south; the Romans wrested the country from the Greeks, but the dominant instinct of the Arabs expressed itself through their feudal lords, the Ghassans; the Crusaders fought the

Arabs for two hundred years and had in the end to withdraw from the land.

BRITISH MILITARY STRATEGY

We now have a recurrence, in a way, of former events. Zionism, with the British mandate as a shield and money as a weapon, is another form of conquest, and Palestine is only a section of the territory which the General Staff, as it were, has in view. Whether the British Government knew this when in November, 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued, I do not know. But it is specified in this declaration that the Jews shall have a right to build a national home in Palestine, not to have Palestine for a national home. The difference is significant. For a national home in Palestine does not mean that they have the whole country for that purpose. A right to a room in a house cannot be interpreted as a right to the whole house. But how can you crowd a nation into a room? For if the success of Zionism equals the expectations of its leaders there should be, within the next twenty years, a million Jews in Palestine. Which means that the Arab population will be completely driven out, since the country cannot support more than that number of inhabitants. (Its present population is about 800,000.)

Let us concede that this success will be achieved within the next twenty years and that the Arabs will be driven out of the country east and north to Transjordan and Syria. Let us also concede that this will be achieved peacefully. What will then happen? The million Zionists, by the law of progress, will draw to them another million in the course of time, and instead of a

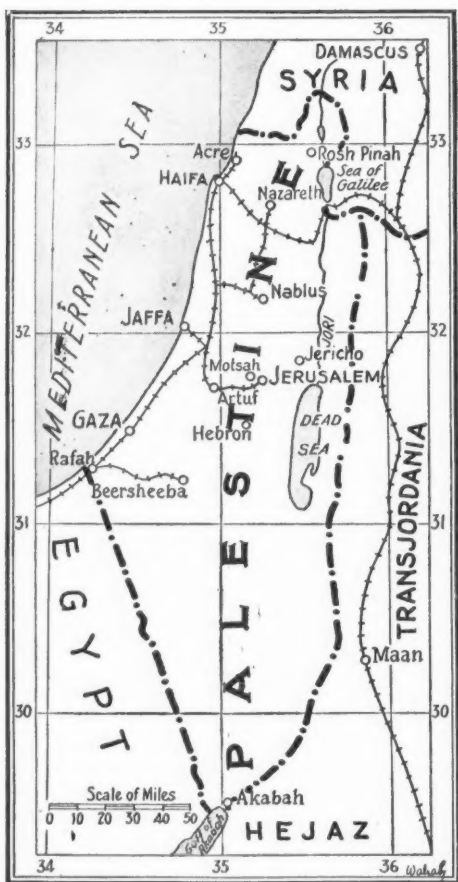
happy Zion Palestine will become a country of ghettos, unless more territory is acquired. The territory is there; Syria and Transjordan and even Iraq are all on the map of the General Staff. Expansion is another law of progress. There is already a movement for annexing Transjordan, and last year a rumor was afloat that the French Mandatory Power in Syria was considering the cession of a part of the Druse country to Palestine. These are only adumbrations of the general plan of conquest.

The chief objection of the Arabs to Zionism, therefore, is inspired by nei-



Australian Official Photo

Looking toward the Mosque of Omar, Jerusalem



MAP OF PALESTINE

ther religious nor racial feeling. For the past thirteen hundred years, whether in Palestine or Syria or Mesopotamia, whether in the Hejaz or the Yeman or Southern Spain, the relations between the Arabs and the Jews have been marked by peace and friendliness and good-will. The native Jews of Palestine are Arabs, as are the Jews of the Yeman. So, too, are the native Jews of Syria and Iraq. And they have always enjoyed with their fellow Arabs the same religious and political rights. On one of the banners of the Nabi Mousa procession, which I witnessed two years ago in Jerusalem, were these words: "The Native Jews Are Our Brothers."

But the Jews of Zion, who have come into the country during the past ten

years from Central Asia and Eastern Europe with funds from America in one hand and the Balfour Declaration in the other, are the vanguard of a dream of conquest, a dream of empire, which the Arabs resist, must resist and will resist to the end.

But the Arabs have no objection to Zionism as a cultural and spiritual movement; and it is only as such that it can be consonant with the Balfour Declaration, which is specific about the national home. A Jewish national home does not mean a Jewish national government. And this national home for a cultural and spiritual Zionism finds its highest expression today not in agricultural colonies, not in the city of Tel-Aviv, not in financial projects and concessions, but in the University on Mount Scopus and in the Bezalel Art School of Jerusalem. These institutions will never be molested; and even branches of them in other cities of Palestine might be established with perfect assurance that nothing will be done to hamper their development.

The Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin El Hussein, has in a recent statement published in the last issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* expressed himself clearly and moderately on the subject. The present government of Palestine, theoretically a triple government, but dual in reality, is nevertheless a drain upon the country's finances, to say nothing of its inconsistency, at least, with the national aspirations of the Arabs, who constitute 70 per cent of the population. It is an anomalous government and the sooner it is abolished the better for all concerned.

In its stead there should be a representative government in which the Jews that are now in the country shall enjoy equal rights with the Arabs. Besides, the proper interpretation of the Balfour Declaration—a Jewish national home, and not a Jewish government, in Palestine—should receive official recognition, and a law should be passed like that now in force in this country to restrict immigration. I cannot see how else the problem can be solved to the satisfaction of all three parties.

II—Zionism as a Spiritual Ideal and a Blessing to Palestine

By MEYER W. WEISGAL

IT WAS inevitable that the recent unhappy occurrences in Palestine, apart from the natural sympathy which they evoked for the Jewish sufferers, should bring with them a confusion and misunderstanding in the mind of the American public as to the aims and purposes of the Zionist movement and the relation of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. This confusion has become worse confounded by reason of the extravagant Arab grievances brought forward by those who speak in the name of the Arabs in Palestine.

Before entering, however, upon a detailed analysis of the Arab "case," we must formulate the fundamental principles of Zionism. What is Zionism and what are its aims? Zionism is the organized expression of the corporate will of the Jewish people to re-establish itself as a national entity in Palestine, where it will be subject neither to the brute force of physical oppression nor to the subtle but equally destructive hostility of alien environment. Officially expressed, "Zionism strives to create a legally secured, publicly recognized home in Palestine for the Jewish people." The Jewish people's consciousness of its right to self-expression and self-determination, parallel with its sharper realization of the wretched status in many of the lands of the Dispersion, brought into play all the living forces of world Jewry for the purpose of regarding the independence lost two thousand years ago.

Zionism is not an artificial attempt to reverse the course of Jewish history. It is a fundamental mass emotion which has persisted throughout the centuries, fermenting beneath the surface until it found expression in the Zionist movement. The spiritual power

of Zionism has been a creative force within the Jewish people for twenty centuries. The desire of the Jewish people to be itself, itself not in each individual alone, but as a people, as a nation, has never ceased from the moment the Jewish State came to an end. Wherever Jews migrated they carried with them what we call the "portable" Jewish State—the Bible, the Talmud, the Liturgy—even the Hebrew language, which never ceased to be the national language of the Jewish people, associated with its most sacred memories.

Like other nations recognizing that out of the evils and sufferings of the World War a new world configuration would emerge, the Jewish people, scattered throughout the world, suffering from victor and vanquished alike, believed that its claim to Palestine would come to be recognized by a new world order based upon the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of peoples. But here, too, the Jews did not remain passive or rest their claim purely upon the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. Not only did hundreds of thousands of their youth fight on all fronts, but thousands of legionnaires from America and other countries fought as a unit under the British flag for the liberation of Palestine, their valor receiving public recognition by Lord Allenby, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Forces.

Hence, when the Jewish people came before the nations of the world and asked for an opportunity to rebuild their ancient homeland, they based their claim not only on the existence of the Jewish State in remote antiquity but on the unwavering concentration of Jewish hopes and prayers on Pal-

estine from the moment of the Dispersion to the present day, as well as on the military achievements of Jewish soldiers in Palestine.

The nations of the world appreciated these facts and recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people to Palestine. Great Britain was given the mandate over Palestine and was made "responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of a Jewish National Home and the development of self-governing institutions," and also for "*safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race and religion.*"

The story of Jewish achievements in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration and, more particularly, since the Mandate, is an epic of modern history. Desolate and neglected for centuries, the country has again been brought under the civilizing touch of a hundred and sixty thousand sturdy, emancipated Jews, whose energy and devotion, self-sacrifice and attachment to the soil have given new life, vigor and vitality to a country that only ten years ago had been in danger of falling into complete decay. Malaria-breeding swamps have been dried out by the toil of Jewish hands; waste stretches of land reclaimed; a school system developed and institutions of learning established that would be a credit to any nation; the ancient Hebrew tongue revived; hospitals and all forms of social improvements introduced; the Valley of Esdraelon, a stretch of arid, uncultivated land, is being transformed into a blossoming garden dotted with thriving Jewish villages; the ancient city of Jerusalem is surrounded by modern Jewish suburbs; Tel-Aviv, the only completely Jewish city in the world, has become a prosperous town of forty-five thousand inhabitants, whereas twenty years ago it was a sand dune; electric and water power for irrigation is now reaching out to almost every corner of the country. In brief, wealth, prosperity, culture, civilization, sacrifice to an idea—all these have

been brought into Palestine by the new Jewish settlers.

It is for the nullification of all this—made possible by the policy first enunciated by Great Britain through the Balfour Declaration in 1917, assented to by the Peace Conference in Paris with the approval of Emir Feisal, who represented the Arab people, reaffirmed at the San Remo Conference and incorporated in the Treaty of Sèvres, endorsed by our own government by unanimous resolutions of both houses of Congress, and finally sanctioned by the League of Nations—that the Arabs make their plea.

THE ARAB CASE AGAINST ZIONISM

What validity lies behind the Arab plea against Zionism and the Jewish National Home, as presented by their spokesmen in this country? Their "case" may be summarized as follows:

1. That promises have been made by Great Britain to the Arabs regarding the establishment of a United Arabia, which have not been fulfilled, and that Palestine is part of this unfulfilled promise.
2. That the Jewish claim to Palestine, based on historic association, is no claim at all.
3. That Palestine cannot absorb a larger population than the one it holds today, and that the Arabs are being edged out of the country.
4. That the Jewish National Home is a "disturber" of the peace of the world.
5. That the Balfour Declaration must therefore be withdrawn and a constitutional government set up.
6. That political and economic security are not essential for the Jews in Palestine, since they should be satisfied with a "spiritual centre"; that Zion in any event is a "state of mind" and not a geographic or political or economic unit.
7. That the Jewish destiny is everywhere in the world save in Palestine.
8. That, hence, new immigration of Jews into Palestine must be stopped.

When all this is achieved, there will be peace between Jew and Arab. And world peace will be assured.

Taking up the first of these conten-

tions, it is not for the writer to defend the honor of Great Britain with regard to the pledges made by it to the representatives of the Arab people during the war. But it does seem that the point is enormously labored so far as it relates to the Palestinian situation. It is undeniably true that in the confusion of the war, conflicting promises and agreements were made with different peoples by representatives not only of Great Britain but of all governments who sought their aid, military and otherwise, for the winning of the war. A promise was made to the Arabs. That promise is contained in a letter which Sir Henry MacMahon, then High Commissioner for Egypt, wrote to Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, pledging on behalf of Britain "a confederation of Arab States or one independent Arab State, conditional upon an Arab revolt against the Turks."

It is clear from the delimitations of the territory and from simultaneous agreements that had been made between Great Britain, Russia and France, that Palestine was never intended to be part of the United Arab kingdom. In the agreement between Great Britain, France and Russia, there is a specific article dealing with the future of Palestine, wholly apart from the contemplated confederation of Arab States. It reads as follows:

With a view to securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the Holy Places, is separated from Turkish territory and subjected to a special régime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France and England.

In a document subsequently presented to the British Parliament, it is further made clear that "this reservation [referring to Palestine] has always been regarded by his Majesty's Government as covering the vilayet of Beirut and the independent sandjak of Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir Henry MacMahon's pledge."

The Sykes-Picot agreement of May, 1916, between Great Britain and France, provided, in Article 3, that in the cen-

tral part of Palestine, including Jerusalem, but excluding the ports of Haifa and Acre, "shall be established an international administration whose form shall be decided in accord with the other Allies and the representatives of the Sherif of Mecca.

"BETRAYAL" OF ARABS EXAGGERATED

It is not our intention to minimize the obligations of the Allies to the Arabs, or the services rendered by the Arabs to the allied cause. Great Britain did receive material assistance from the Arabs of Hejaz and Mesopotamia by their revolt against the Turks. It was a *quid pro quo* arrangement. Before the war ended Sherif Hussein and his sons were made rulers of the vast territory of the Hejaz, Mesopotamia, and even Transjordan, which is an integral part of Palestine. To speak, therefore, in the light of these great political achievements of "betrayal" by Great Britain is, to say the least, somewhat overshooting the mark. Perhaps the fairest statement of what the Arabs achieved as a result of the war is made in a recent editorial in *The New York Times*. It reads in part:

The betrayal of the Arabs must not be allowed to suggest that none of the allied promises were redeemed, that the Arab nation has been cheated of every bit of its legitimate share in allied victory. Today there is no Arab kingdom extending from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and from Armenia to the Persian Ocean. Yet out of, roughly 10,000,000 Arabs, who in the case of allied defeat would now be under Turkish rule, something like 7,500,000 do live under independent rulers of their own. That is the population of the kingdoms of Iraq or Mesopotamia, of Hejaz-Nejd (Wahabi) and of Yemen. Less than 2,000,000 Arabs live under the French mandate in Syria and about 750,000 under the British mandate in Palestine and Transjordan.

Seventy-five per cent of the allied pledge to the Arabs, therefore, has been redeemed, and another substantial instalment of self-government is now being worked out in Syria. The Arabs would thus seem to have fared quite as well as any other participant in the

war on the allied side. It would be difficult to name a war aim that got itself three-quarters realized, or a war debt that got itself three-quarters paid, or a national aspiration that got itself three-quarters satisfied. * * *

The point of view of *The New York Times* is the point of view accepted by every rational and politically honest person. Is it not reasonable to say to those who clamor for the fulfillment of 100 per cent of the British pledges to the Arabs that the sacredness of a pledge does not lose its potency when made to the Jewish people? And such a pledge has been made, not secretly but publicly before the whole world, and has received the assent and the approval of all the nations of the world. Nor is it immaterial to point out here that as a matter of historical accuracy the Arabs in Palestine did not revolt against the Turks as did the Arabs of Hejaz and Mesopotamia. The Jews, on the other hand, supplied the British forces with three battalions, whose exploits in the Palestine campaign received official recognition. Many Jewish colonists risked their lives in rendering most valuable service in the military operations. In presenting a decoration to one Jewish colonist after the war, General Allenby declared that to him he owed the conquest of Palestine. And at the opening of the Hebrew University in April, 1925, General Allenby again declared that had it not been for the moral and material encouragement of the Zionists the conquest of Palestine would have been impossible. But whether the Palestine Arabs did or did not assist Great Britain in the war has nothing to do with the elementary rights inalienable even in the case of a conquered people. No one, least of all the Zionists, desires such a violation.

ARAB APPROVAL OF ZIONIST AIMS

It would seem that the chief parties involved in the agreement between the Arabs and Great Britain, namely, Sherif Hussein and his representatives, should have been those to raise objections to the policy of the Jewish Na-

tional Home. The facts, however, are quite the contrary. They gave their assent to that policy in a letter written by the Emir Feisal, now King of Mesopotamia, spokesman for the Arabs at the Peace Conference and representative of his father, King Hussein, to Felix Frankfurter, representative of the Zionist Organization of America. In this letter, the text of which follows, the Arab chief not only approves of the Zionist aims but publicly recognizes the services of the Zionist leader, Dr. Weizmann, to the Arab cause:

I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr. Weizmann in Arabia and Europe. We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first steps toward the attainments of our national ideals together. We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best in so far as we are concerned to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chief of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann, we have had and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working together for a reformed and revised Near East and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist; our movement is national and not imperialist; and there is room in Syria for both of us. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need for cooperation of the Arabs and Zionists, have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the

early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences. I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle but on matters of detail such as must inevitably arise in every contact of neighboring peoples and as are easily adjusted by mutual good-will * * *.

HISTORIC CONNECTION WITH PALESTINE

That the attempt to invalidate the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine is as absurd as the analogies that are adduced becomes clear when we read the exposition of the Jewish claim as formulated by Mr. Israel Cohen, a noted Jewish historian:

It is not merely the number of centuries that the Jews lived in Palestine that constitutes their claim to the country. It is the fact that they first acquired and exercised their nationhood in Palestine; that it was there that they developed their national culture, language, policy, religion, customs, traditions; there that their kings ruled, their prophets taught, and their psalmist sang; there that they created and completed that wonderful treasury of spiritual wisdom and ethical lore, the Bible, whose civilizing influence is for all time and all mankind. But for Palestine the Jews had never been a nation; that is why their national memories and aspirations have always been linked with it indissolubly throughout the centuries of their dispersion—memories and aspirations that are enshrined in all their feasts and fasts and religious observances, and perpetuated in every page of their prayerbook.

Hence the argument that the Arabs who conquered Spain, or the Romans who conquered Britain, and ruled it for a few hundred years, could now through their descendants lay claim to those countries is an utterly false analogy. For the Arabs acquired their nationhood in Arabia, and were an independent nation before they invaded Spain; and the Romans had likewise established and exercised their national status centuries before they penetrated into Britain. To the Arabs their sojourn in Spain was an unessential epi-

sode; to the Romans their conquest of Britain likewise. Neither nation owed to the country in which only a mere part of it lived for a time any fundamental or vital feature of its national life and development. But to Palestine the Jews owed everything; it was their national home, as Arabia is the national home of the Arabs. And to the Jews Palestine owed everything, for had it not been for their existence, development, and activity therein as a nation, had it not been for their religious genius and intellectual fertility, Palestine would never have become the Holy Land.

The historic claim of the Jewish people, as has been pointed out, has been recognized by fifty-one nations of the world, including our own. The Jews' historic right to Palestine is based not on fear or favor, but on the recognition of the universally acknowledged fact that if Palestine holds any place in the history of the world, it is because of what the Jewish people wrought there.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS HITHERTO PEACEFUL

But the historic right of the Jewish people to Palestine implies no violation of the rights of the Arab inhabitants of the country. These rights are safeguarded in the Balfour Declaration and in the Palestine mandate. Far from being injured, the Arabs have profited greatly by Jewish reconstruction work in Palestine. Every student of Palestinian history knows under what conditions the Arabs have lived there. Crushed for centuries under the heel of the Turkish tax collector, the felaheen (peasant), not the absentee landlord, has been reduced to a state of servitude from which he is now gradually emerging through the active cooperation and civilizing influence of the new Jewish settlers. It is precisely against this regeneration that the Anti-Zionist Arab Executive, largely composed of ruthless exploiters of the peasants and malevolent agitators, is struggling. It is natural. Their hegemony is threatened; a servile ignorant peasantry is far better material for exploitation than an enlightened, conscious peasantry.

Except for the leaders of the Anti-Zionist Arab Executive and the arch enemy of the peace of the country, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, the relations between the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine have been peaceful and amicable. During the last ten years of Jewish work in Palestine, Arab-Jewish partnerships have been formed; joint commercial interests have been created; Arabs have joined the Jewish Labor Federation; Arab children are attending the Hebrew Technicum in Haifa and the gymnasium in Tel Aviv; in the colony Rosh Pinah the Jews organized a school for Arab children. These are but a few of the many instances which indicate the general attitude of the Arab population. If left undisturbed by sinister influences, the Jews and the Arabs will work out their common destiny. Palestine experiences the same process of development as every colonizing country. The native, of course, looks askance at the newcomer, especially when the newcomer is misrepresented as an enemy who is invading the country and edging the native out of the land.

There is no more justification in the claim that the Jews are edging the Arabs out of the country than there is in the statement that Palestine cannot absorb a larger population than the one it holds today. According to the latest official statistics, the area of Palestine (without Transjordan) contains 27,000,000 dunams (a nam is a quarter of an acre) of which only 10,000,000 dunams are more or less cultivated. Sixteen to seventeen million dunams remain unutilized. How much of this vast land can be made use of for agriculture or cattle breeding will be ascertained after the completion of the land survey. One thing is certain: there are in Palestine today several millions of dunams that can be cultivated either immediately or after suitable reclamation, but which have remained unused for centuries, notwithstanding the fact that the greater part of the land is private property.

Authorities differ as to the number of people Palestine can absorb. Sir

George Adam Smith, an eminent authority on Palestine, has stated that under certain conditions Palestine could absorb about 6,000,000 people. The most conservative estimate puts the number at 3,000,000. Striking an average, let us say four and a half million. The population today is about 750,000, some 160,000 of whom are Jews. So there is still room in Palestine for more than 3,000,000. One important condition, however, is necessary—that the land should be developed, that the marshes should be drained, that the waste places should be cultivated, that modern methods and machinery should be employed, that capital and labor should be introduced and applied on an ever-increasing scale, that Palestine should be raised from the state of medieval desolation and stagnation in which the Arabs have kept it, to the level of an industrious, fertile and prosperous country. The Jews can and will bring about this change. The Arabs have had their opportunity and have neglected it. Seventy-five per cent of the arable land still lies idle in Palestine. The fear of causing Arab trekking and expropriation is, therefore, groundless.

A REAL SPIRITUAL CENTRE

Nevertheless, we are advised to revoke the Balfour Declaration; to stop Jewish immigration; to sweep away any and all rights granted to the returning sons of Israel. Then the Arabs would raise no objection to the development of a "spiritual centre." Strange how an essential truth breaks through even the barriers of willful unfriendliness. Is it not relevant to ask, "If the Jewish people have no historic connection with Palestine—if their destiny lies outside of Palestine, what is the meaning of this spiritual centre, so freely granted to us?" The answer is simple: Because there is no reality behind the bare words "spiritual centre." Spiritual centres do not exist in the air. They are born of political freedom and economic security. Commerce, industry, agriculture and the free exercise of the rights of a people to the land

that they can call their own are the props upon which a spiritual centre is built. America is the spiritual centre of the American people as England is the spiritual centre of the English people and as Arabia is the spiritual centre of the Arabs. If the Jews, as is believed, can make a significant contribution to world culture by the development of a spiritual centre in Palestine, that centre implies the inalienable right of the Jewish people to migrate to that country and increase its settlements of 160,000, in the process of time, to 1,000,000, to 2,000,000, or even to 3,000,000. Instead of the Jewish colonies scattered today through the neglected valley of Jezreel and on the desolate slopes of Upper Galilee, to create a great, pulsating Jewish homeland, rich in human material, rich in inspiration, and richer still in hope; instead of a few high schools and one university we have founded, there should beckon from Palestine a score of institutions of high learning. In brief, the ancient dream of the Jew to give once more to the world the best that is peculiarly his, undiluted by foreign admixture, unspoiled by oppression, should find the realization to which it is entitled. That is what Jews mean when they speak of a spiritual centre in Palestine, and for that they expect the world to give its support.

The existence of such a spiritual and economic centre, far from prejudicing

the spiritual and economic development of the Arabs, would provide just that forward impetus which apparently they are unable to produce out of themselves. The story of a fruitful Arab-Jewish entente is centuries old—it served the Western World at a time when Europe was plunged in darkness; it can be revived to the advantage of both peoples. But an essential prerequisite to its revival is a friendship between the nations not disturbed by agitators and by slander. The beginning of that friendship were evident in the numerous cases of gallant help rendered to Jews by Arabs even during the recent riots, in the numerous instances of districts and cities refusing to follow the orders of the instigators (such districts were Tiberias, the villages round Petach Tikvah, the settlements round Ben Shemen), and finally in the disgust which has been openly expressed by many Arabs with the recent excesses. The evidence of the reciprocal friendship of the Jews of Palestine for the Arabs is to be found in innumerable utterances of the Hebrew press, which, in the very midst of the assault, urges over and over again that the Jewish people has no quarrel with the Arabs, and that while it demands the punishment of rioters and murderers, it refuses to implicate the Arab people as a whole. This mutual friendship can be extended and fortified till it embraces the entire Arab people.

Nicaragua's Centuries of Strife and Bloodshed

Public interest in Nicaragua's stormy political history was revived with the departure for that country on Aug. 26 and Oct. 15, respectively, of a force of engineer troops charged to investigate the practicability and to estimate the appropriate cost of the much-discussed project of a canal route through Nicaragua. This survey was authorized by President Hoover in June, in accordance with a resolution passed not long before by the Seventieth Congress.

The author of the following article, an American writer who knows Nicaragua from long residence there, tells the story of the centuries of racial and political strife, invasion and bloodshed in this little Central American republic, culminating in the recent intervention by the United States.

By JAMES E. EDMONDS

WHEN the picked battalion of United States engineers, ordered by President Hoover to carry out the survey authorized by Congress for the possible route and probable cost of a Nicaraguan canal, reached the country of their destination, they made the latest of a series of contacts, going back over four centuries, between the "cockpit of Central America" and the land that is now the United States.

Hernandez De Soto discovered the Mississippi River in 1542, after exploring what now are the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, probably Tennessee, possibly North Carolina and parts of Kentucky, Texas and Louisiana, certainly Mississippi and Arkansas. De Soto had first tasted Western World wandering, Indian fighting and gold-hunting in Nicaragua, as a companion of Gil Gonzales Davilla, the Conquistador in 1523 who led the original Spanish expedition into the valley of the mountain-rimmed lakes. So, as far in the past as the dawn of the sixteenth

century, were joined the destinies of the "land of the clear waters" and the "land of the great river."

Four hundred years after, in 1929, the proposed new waterway, linking the Western and the Eastern oceans, is regarded in the region explored by De Soto upon the Mississippi, as its particular gate of ingress and egress for the markets of the Pacific, and essential to it if the handicaps imposed on the Mississippi Valley by the Panama Canal are to be overcome.

That waterway, when and if constructed, will bring to realization a vision that caught the imagination of the first explorers. Davilla himself, and De Soto, and after him Samuel de Champlain, the Frenchman, when he voyaged down the Caribbean coast in the service of the King of Spain, noted the easily navigated Rio San Juan and the low gap in the Cordilleras which separates its headwaters from the Pacific. If it is built, it will conclude nearly a hundred years of North American consideration of its feasibility. If it is

finally abandoned in favor of an enlargement of the Panama Canal, it will furnish text for the last paragraph to a long and tragic history of frustrated hopes and abortive plans.

Twice at least, the United States has come close to war with Great Britain over the control of the approaches to a route through Nicaragua to the Pacific. For many years this country has hazarded its relations with Latin American lands to preserve its dominance over the destinies of Nicaragua. For a generation nearly every diplomatic decision and policy having to do with the lands south of the Rio Grande and about the "South Seas" has been taken or framed with an eye toward that strip of ground along the San Juan River running westward to the coast.

No country, outside the Valley of Anahuac in Mexico and the land of the Incas in Peru, possessed at the time of the Spanish Conquest, a more interesting land or a more interesting people than Nicaragua. It is a little country, as countries go, its population not over half a million, its territory covering not more than 58,000 square miles of land, approximately equivalent in area to the States of Mississippi, Arkansas, or Pennsylvania. Its location, and its strange diversity of soil and flora, mineral resources, mountains, volcanoes and fresh water lakes, make it unique. For nearly 300 miles, from Cape Gracias á Dios at the Honduran boundary down to the Rio San Juan del Sur, its low coast line stretches along the Caribbean, mainly a tropic jungle, with here and there low jutting headlands, broken by bar-protected river mouths. Half a dozen of these rivers are navigable for a few score miles, back to a terraced low plateau. Here are banana plantations, rubber-buying stations, camps for mahogany cutters, and in the north there is access to heavy pine forests growing luxuriantly on level wooded uplands.

This Western coast, once the "Mosquito Indian Territory" over which Great Britain claimed a protectorate, rises slowly through dense "montaña," by low hills to low mountains. These,

in the north and along the Honduran border, extend northwest, in a series of gradually higher ranges, until they join with the Cordilleras of the Pacific Coast. In the south, the high land rises to a watershed crest which gives to the west upon the rolling, generally treeless low hills and plains of the Chontales bordering Lake Nicaragua.

Around the southern tip of this eastern coastal region, the San Juan River extends northwest into Lake Nicaragua. This, the greatest body of fresh water between Lake Michigan and Lake Titicaca in Peru, extends for nearly a hundred miles, generally north, the western coastal Sierras, barren, arid and volcanic, separating it from the Pacific and the low hills of the Chontales cutting it off from the wet country of the Caribbean littoral. Beyond Lake Nicaragua is Lake Managua, joined to it by a tumultuous rapid-broken river, reaching nearly fifty miles further into the hill-and-mountain country of the north.

NICARAGUA'S TRAGIC HISTORY

Four hundred years of almost unrelenting bloodshed, broken only by the period of the "peace of death and exhaustion," have stained nearly every acre of the land.

Davilla sailed up the west coast from Panama in 1522, he and his companions inflamed by the knowledge of the treasure and the glory gained by Cortez in Mexico just three years before. They found a region round about the lakes densely inhabited, with one fierce, hard-bitten tribe, the "Cholutecans," dominating all the others and looking down upon them as barbarians, or "Chontalans," (from the Aztec word for savage) even as the Spaniards looked down upon them. This tribe spoke a pure Aztec dialect, instantly recognized by veterans of the Cortez expedition who were with Davilla. These "Cholutecans" had bronze armor, carved stone, used the writing system of the Aztecs, and had the tradition of the "Fair God." Like the Aztecs, they welcomed the Spaniards and accepted the religion of the newcomers; and, also like the Aztecs, this



Map of Nicaragua, showing the projected route of the canal

forgotten outpost of the once far-extending empire of the Montezumas received in recompense the same reward of butchery, enslavement and mongrelization.

Another column of Spaniards drove down from the north to dispute Davilla's conquest, and in addition to war upon the revolting natives was added furious struggle between contending Spanish factions. Tribe after tribe of natives was exterminated. Monument after monument of the stone and bronze age civilization was wrecked and shattered. The destruction was more complete than in Mexico or Peru, because, after all, it was a simple, agricultural country, a frontier land, without the wealth of treasure found in the other lands, and the fury of disap-

pointed avarice outreached the fury of avarice gratified.

Today the ruins of the ancient races remain all through Central Nicaragua in mounds which mark the crumbled cities and villages, in scattered monolithic images, cairns of broken pottery, looted tombs and cemeteries. Deep in the forests of Northeast Nicaragua and almost down to the plateaus of the Caribbean, one may find today by the mountain trails, stone utensils, carved and chiseled, broken pottery, the outlines of ancient walls, the remains of ancient highways, and the abandoned workings of gold and silver mines. On the cooled-lava rocks in the larger rivers flowing into the Caribbean may be seen the hieroglyphic records of ancient exploring expeditions

cut deep into the stone. Along these same rivers still exist pure-blooded Indian tribes with the facial angles and features, some of the Aztec, and others of the Mayan. But nothing in them remains of the civilization of their ancestors. They are fishermen and boatmen, knowing only a smattering of Spanish, uneducated, sexually debased with that perversion which belts the globe in the tropics and was common to armies of the Mediterranean as long ago as the days of Alexander.

In the mountains beyond Lake Managua other fragments exist of the ancient races, and of the Leonese especially, who preserve the tradition of the original mountaineers of hatred toward the "people of the lakes."

EARLY CIVILIZATION

When the Spaniards came the Aztec colony was the dominant group, but there were traces of three separate civilizations. Southward around the lakes and westward toward the Pacific were the ruins of an older and already destroyed society, which had degenerated into a humbled and conquered people, the "Chontalans." Eastward and running into Honduras were traces of the Mayas.

The Aztec colony about the head of the lakes, and on the lake islands and the peninsula, was evidently the spearhead of a successful invasion, which had conquered and dominated the dense population and then itself relapsed and lost touch with its mother country.

After the first spasm of bloodshed and destruction the Spaniards from the south were bested by the Spaniards from the north, who in their turn continued the debasement and enslavement of the natives.

Of the first five Spanish rulers it has been written: "The first had been a murderer, the second a murderer and rebel, the third murdered the second, the fourth was a forger, and the fifth was again a murderer and a rebel."

Then came hopeless revolts by the natives, each one extinguished with further slaughter, destruction of the ancient towns and villages, and the fur-

ther abandonment of fields to the encroaching forests.

Twice in the sixteenth century Spaniards themselves revolted against the government imposed upon them by the mother country, and in the seventeenth century, so bitter became the quarrels, and so chronic the rebellion, that the Captain General of Guatemala established the city of Leon to keep watch over Granada, thus starting a rivalry and enmity that have persisted to this very year, and have been at the bottom of countless outbreaks for many generations.

In the long years from 1600 to 1821, while Spain herself slowly decayed, the Nicaraguan people of today emerged. Upon the broad substratum of "paisanos," the "Indians of the soil," who had only slight traces of Spanish blood, was superimposed the blended admixture which combined the strains of Conquistadores and Aztec and Mayan overlords of the time of the conquest. These last were the "gente," whose color ranges from the bronze of the aborigines to the olive of the nearly pure-blood Castilian.



HERNANDO DE SOTO

Spanish adventurer who served under Cordova in the conquest of Nicaragua in the sixteenth century

Their viewpoint varied from that of the cultivated products of European and American universities, who think of themselves as the "introducers" of modern civilization, to that of the natives who wanted to keep "Nicaragua for the Nicaraguans," thinking their country's happiness would be best served by restoring an Indian State and maintaining a primitive aloofness.

From the "gente" have come the Chamorros, the Diaz, the Menas, the Zelayas, the Moncadas, the Sacasas, and the innumerable other chieftains and leaders who have warred and struggled with one another, with Spain, with their neighbors and with the United States.

The Conquistadores' blood, long overwhelmed by the blood of the women they took and the men they enslaved,

still left its indelible mark, as did that of the Aztecs also—a fierce pride that has persisted through centuries of serfdom, bastardy, poverty and mongrelization, a high courage that has remained in spite of blood-letting and defeat almost beyond example, and a courteous, gracious hospitality that is common from the cities to the remotest mountain farms.

REVOLTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Revolt against Spain in 1821 cost little blood, for Spain was weak, and the Central Americas were too incon-siderable a part of the Spanish colonies to be worth an army. But when Nicaragua became one of the five States of the Federal Union of Central America, for the ten brief years of its life from 1823 to 1833, there was continuous party warfare. In that ten years' time 396 individuals held, for brief intervals, the supreme power in the Federation or in the several States.

In 1833, when Nicaragua set up for herself, there commenced the never-ending struggle between the so-called "Conservatives," with Granada as their headquarters, and the so-called "Liberals," with their base in Leon. Deep beneath the strife for place and power through the centuries, there is discernible until the present a real line of cleavage in thought and in purpose. The people of and around Granada, whatever the color of their skin, think of themselves to this day as transplanted Europeans, as the heirs of the Conquistadores. Led by the land-owners, they have wanted the modern State, with railroads, industries and contacts with the outer world. The people of and around Leon, on the other hand, have wanted the isolated native State, and have kept going the age-old



Courtesy Fridenberg Galleries

WILLIAM WALKER (1824-1860)

Gentleman adventurer, who for a brief moment controlled the destinies of Nicaragua

revolt, at first against the Aztecs, then against the Spaniards, then against the European seekers for concessions, and, finally, against the United States. In spite of cross-currents, contradictory administrations and leaders, the cleavage has been the same.

It was the "Liberals" or "Democrats" of Leon who invited William Walker, the "gray-eyed man of destiny," to come to their aid against the "Conservatives" or "Aristocrats" of Granada in the late '50s. That strange adventurer, who, with his original "fifty-eight immigrants" from the California gold fields and his later American recruits, swept across Central America with a fury that outdid the first Spaniards, laid the foundation for the enduring fear and distrust of the United States.

Had his purposes not crossed those of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, who dominated the "Transit Route," via the San Juan River, from the Caribbean to the California gold fields, Walker might have realized, for a time, his dream of a servile Central American State, dominated by conquerors enlisted from the United States and Europe. Both Vanderbilt and Walker dreamed of the isthmian canal by the San Juan River to the Pacific, but, in the case of the former, the Civil War in the United States ended his plans.

Walker, who had accomplished deeds of war that an Alexander or a Clive might have envied, was ousted, after he had seized the supreme power from both "Democrats" and "Conservatives," by a combined effort of Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Honduras, but not until Vanderbilt had cut off his supplies of arms, munitions and recruits from the United States. He was put against a wall and shot in Truxillo, Honduras,



"THE COLOSSUS OF ROADS"

A contemporary cartoon of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, who, in 1857, forced William Walker out of Nicaragua by organizing a coalition of Central American countries against him. Walker had seized some property in Nicaragua owned by a Vanderbilt enterprise

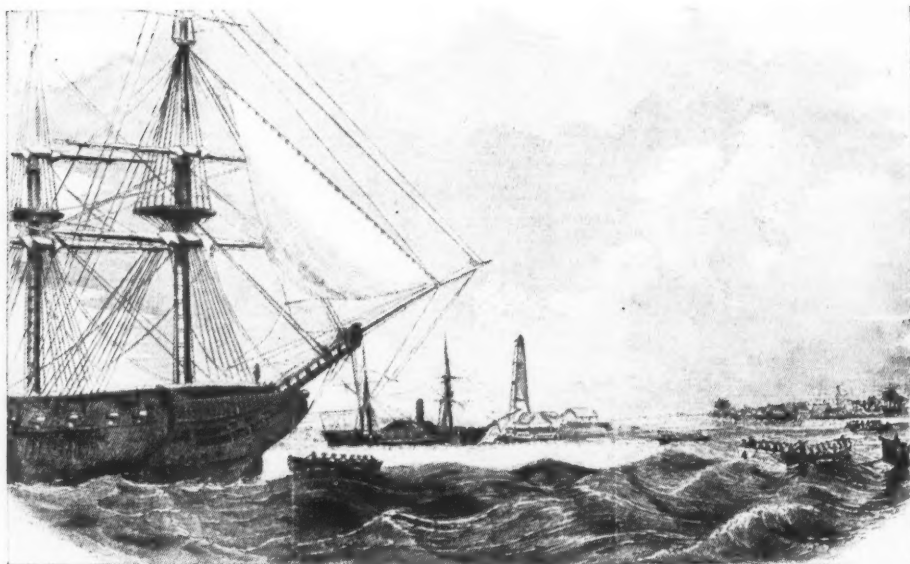
when he returned with more troops in 1860.

To the slave-holding Democrats of the "Old South" in the United States Walker was for a time a glamorous hero. From Leon to the Rio San Juan are the forgotten graves of many scores of young adventurers who joined his colors from Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee, as well as those of most of the rugged "First Riflemen" whom he enlisted from the turbulent camps of the California gold fields. To the Central Americans, he was at the last a devil incarnate, and until recent years, in the remote country homes, a native folk-song of "El Filibustero" was used by nurses and mothers to make the "niños" behave.

The American Civil War ended the use of the Transit Route to California and temporarily stopped the plans of



PORT SAN CARLOS, LAKE NICARAGUA

From *Harper's Weekly* of May 16, 1857

The seizure of William Walker and his forces at Punta Arenas, Nicaragua, by Commander Paulding. From a contemporary drawing in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* for Jan. 9, 1858

any North Americans either to help or exploit Nicaragua. In 1850 the United States, after serious differences with Great Britain, had obtained the transfer to Nicaragua of the Mosquito Coast and in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty reached an understanding about the isthmian canal—when, and if, built. That treaty, as long afterward as 1905, governed the establishment of the United States in Panama and in 1914 and 1917 played its part in enabling this country and Great Britain to stand side by side in the World War.

ZELAYA'S EIGHTEEN-YEAR RULE

In Nicaragua, after Walker, came the "peace of death and exhaustion," little broken save by occasional quarrels and sporadic bloodshed, for more than thirty years. Then, in 1893, José Santos Zelaya, a Leonese educated in Europe, seized the Presidency, which he held for eighteen years through fourteen rebellions, put down each time with an iron hand. His dictatorship was coincident with the development of the banana industry around the Caribbean Sea, founded upon a new plantation system and the refrigerated shipment of produce to the markets of the United States and Europe. Bluefields and other little ports along the Mosquito Coast developed a commerce. Adventurers went inland to discover mines. Concession hunters bargained with the dictator, and usually got the worst of it.

Against Zelaya the Conservatives of Granada maintained almost unremitting rebellion, persisting through exile, imprisonment, execution, confiscation of property, the records reading like those of the War of the Roses in England.

Coincident with Zelaya's régime, and influenced immeasurably by it, was the decision of the United States to con-

struct the first canal, not through Nicaragua but in Panama. Zelaya fell at last just when the Panama Canal was nearing completion. He fell because of the intervention of the United States, which cut off his ammunition, his weapons and his credit and supplied the Estradan revolutionists, led by Emiliano Chamorro and directed by Adolfo Díaz, with what they wanted from American bankers. Zelaya had committed two grave faults: he had executed two American adventurers, Groce and Cannon, for attempting to dynamite boatloads of Zelayan soldiers on the San Juan River, and he had "double-crossed" powerful groups of American investors in the Mosquito Coast mining country.

Estrada was made President. Adolfo Díaz succeeded him. Luis Mena, one of the Conservative Generals, revolted, and American marines went in and established peace. A Chamorro was President for a time. Through twelve years American marines remained, and the land had the longest period of peace since 1821. Moreover, the Bryan-Chamorro treaty gave the United States special rights over the potential route for the new canal, and practically established her as guardian of the peace of Nicaragua.

Then the marines were withdrawn, and within the brief space of two years the old fury of party strife began again, not to be ended until the recent intervention, the supervised election, and the establishing of the "Liberals," who have agreed with their ancient enemies, the "Conservatives," to support the Bryan-Chamorro treaty, to cooperate in constructing the new canal, to welcome the hegemony of the United States, and to try the experiment, while needs must, of peace.

China Denounces Extraterritorial Treaties

In view of the recent dissension at Geneva resulting from the Chinese proposal for the reconsideration of inapplicable treaties, and in view of the recent exchanges of notes between our State Department and representatives of the Nationalist Government regarding the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China, this article on the origins and increasing difficulties of extraterritoriality is most timely.

By WILBUR BURTON

THE RECENTLY renewed and ever-insistent Chinese demands for the abolition of extraterritoriality—which include an exchange of notes between the Nationalist Government and the United States Department of State made public on Sept. 5, an indirect threat by China on Sept. 10 to withdraw from the Council of the League of Nations unless that body consider the subject, and an announcement on Sept. 16 that extraterritoriality will be terminated next year even if the foreign powers affected do not agree—have raised anew a most persistent subject of dissension.

The notes made public at Washington on Sept. 5 consisted of a communication delivered to our State Department on April 27 and the answer of Secretary of State Stimson to that note. The Chinese communication asked that our government consider the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China in the near future. The reply was to the effect that nothing positive could be done until China's Government was more securely organized than it is now, but that this government would be glad to start negotiations with a view to the gradual relinquishment of extraterritorial rights. Great Britain's reply to a similar note from China was a flat refusal to consider abolition under present conditions.

A further note from China to our State Department on Sept. 12 requested an immediate conference to consider the problem; it was reported a few days later that the Nationalist Government had already appointed delegates to a preparatory commission for the abolition of extraterritoriality.

At Geneva on Sept. 10 considerable disturbance was created by the proposal of C. C. Wu, Chinese delegate, that the Assembly of the League be authorized, in accordance with Article XIX of the covenant, to advise reconsideration of treaties that had become inapplicable and dangerous to the peace. The Chinese resolution was obviously aimed at extraterritorial treaties, but it was received with applause by the German delegates, who saw in it an opportunity to reopen the question of revision of the Versailles Treaty. The French delegates, for the same reason that the Germans applauded, hotly opposed the resolution.

On Sept. 11 the Agenda Committee rejected the Chinese proposal, and it was reported that China threatened to quit the League unless this rejection was withdrawn. A compromise resolution was therefore drawn up by which it is left to the Assembly of the League to decide in individual cases whether or not to give the requested advice for reconsideration of treaties. The

next day, Sept. 24, the Judiciary Committee unanimously adopted the Chinese resolution as modified, and on the closing day of the session the Assembly ratified this compromise resolution. Meanwhile, on Sept. 16, the Nationalist Government proclaimed that all extraterritorial rights in China would be abolished by Jan. 1, 1930, unless some move was made in the interim by the interested powers.

It is not surprising that the Chinese view with extreme dislike the rights of extraterritoriality, which provide that foreign consular courts shall have jurisdiction over their own nationals in China. Americans would not look with equanimity on a system whereby Chinese in the United States were subject only to their own laws and courts. A judge from China sitting in New York, and from whose decisions this country had no appeal, would arouse patriotic hostility of fearful portent.

The principle of extraterritoriality is as old as that of nationality. In ancient times, however, it was invoked with more equality than exists in the present Sino-foreign system. That is to say, each national group made itself responsible for its citizens when traveling among other groups, a situation whose modern equivalent would be a Chinese judge for Chinese in New York and an American judge for Americans in Shanghai. There is at present an American judge in Shanghai; but there is no Chinese judge in New York.

China is the last country of modern times in which the system has persisted to an appreciable degree. Extraterritoriality has been abolished in both Turkey and Siam within the past decade and partly abandoned in Persia.

In the latter country there are few foreigners and less nationalism, so the system is probably agreeable to every one concerned. Persia today, in fact, provides an approximate counterpart of China seventy-five years ago when extraterritoriality was first taking hold in its present form. The Chinese then did not appreciate foreign guests, but being compelled to accommodate them they preferred to have as little to do

with them as possible. They therefore readily consented to extraterritoriality, a fact that many of the present foreigners in China cannot forget.

The Chinese gave it only grudging approval, however, as the most palatable of many evils. The Manchu throne was opposed to every one and everything foreign; the decadent but still shrewd statesmen surrounding the Son of Heaven probably realized that the West was an inevitable Nemesis. The less they had to do with Westerners the longer they could hold out—a wise theory, for if the Chinese had attempted to mete out their justice to foreigners there undeniably would have been far more gunplay than actually took place.

ORIGINS OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

The traditional origin of extraterritoriality was a sample of old-fashioned Chinese justice to an American sailor in Canton. The sailor, working on his ship, accidentally dropped something which killed a Chinese in the harbor. The sailor was surrendered to the Chinese authorities, given a fair trial and, since Chinese jurisprudence made no distinction between murder and manslaughter, was strangled to death. This incident, apparently true, took place long after the establishment of extraterritoriality between China and Russia, the first foreign nation of importance with which the Chinese came into intimate contact. A Sino-Russian treaty of 1689 stipulated that subjects of either nation guilty of breaches of the frontier should be handed over to their respective officials for punishment—extraterritoriality on a basis of equality. A later treaty, in 1768, reiterated this principle.

It was, however, the Sino-American Treaty of 1844—after the sailor's death—which established the unilateral extraterritoriality now extant. The story of the sailor is significant, since it emphasizes why foreigners today are fearful of surrendering the system.

The Sino-British Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, following the wording of the Sino-American Treaty of 1844, said

that "all questions in regard to rights, whether of property or persons, arising between British subjects, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of British authorities."

Another clause read: "Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act toward British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities, according to the laws of China. British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain." This clause was less bilateral than it sounded, for it gave China power over her own subjects in China only, not in England.

The later Chee-foo agreement put in legal treaty form the favorite foreign argument for extraterritoriality: "That so long as the laws of the two countries (England and China) differ from each other there can be but one principle to guide judicial proceedings in mixed cases in China; namely, that the case is tried by the official of the defendant's nationality, the official of the plaintiff's nationality merely attending to watch the proceedings in the interests of justice. * * * The law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case."

Another treaty between the United States and China, signed in Peking in 1880, provided: "When controversies arise in the Chinese Empire between citizens of the United States and subjects of his Imperial Majesty which need to be examined and decided by the public officers of the two nations, it is agreed between the governments of the United States and China that such cases shall be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant. The properly authorized official of the plaintiff's nationality shall be freely permitted to attend the trial, and shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position. He shall be granted all proper facilities for watching the proceedings in the interests of justice. * * * If he so desires, he shall have the right to present, to examine and to

cross-examine witnesses. If he is dissatisfied with the proceedings he shall be permitted to protest against them in detail. The law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case."

This practice of foreigners watching trials of Chinese developed in the Mixed Court of the International Settlement of Shanghai into the Chinese judge merely rubber-stamping the decisions—an evolution which for a long time contributed to the Chinese opposition to extraterritoriality. This ended, however, in 1927, with full rendition of the court to the Chinese on the basis of the original treaties. Otherwise there has been no material change in the extraterritorial status of British and Americans since the conclusion of the agreements cited.

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE

The French also negotiated treaties and the lesser nations fell in line, usually by the simple procedure of a "most favored nation" clause. Japan, becoming one of the great powers and strong enough to terminate extraterritoriality within her own borders, demanded and obtained extraterritoriality for her subjects in China. It is current opinion in the Far East that Japan is really indifferent to this phase of her "imperialism"—since her own traditional culture and customs are largely copied from China—but is clinging to the practice because she wants full equality with the most powerful countries of the West.

Today England, the United States, France and Japan are the only important countries retaining extraterritoriality. The German and Austrian treaties were terminated by the war, and the Russian treaties—which changed from a bilateral to a unilateral status after the British and American negotiations—ended with the Bolshevik revolution. Italy, Belgium, Spain, Denmark and Portugal recently have signed treaties giving up their extraterritorial rights. The Mexican treaty recently expired. The American treaty is not due to expire until 1932, and the

British treaty several years later. Countries like Norway, Sweden and Switzerland are not pertinent to the discussion, since they have few citizens in China and tacitly stand ready to follow the lead of the larger powers.

There are, then, approximately 10,000 Americans, 15,000 Britishers, 3,000 Frenchmen, 200,000 Japanese, and little more than 1,000 other foreigners enjoying extraterritoriality, a small group indeed compared to China's more than 400,000,000 population and, seemingly, of small consequence to the Chinese Government in comparison with the many major problems awaiting solution.

CHINESE OBJECTIONS TO THE SYSTEM

Why, it is reasonable to ask, should the Chinese be so excited about extraterritoriality when its effect appears to be so insignificant in relation to larger issues, such as building roads and railroads, achieving genuine stabilization and unity, financial reform, and trade expansion? The "loss of face" involved in any unilateral treaty is obvious, but by Western standards only a petty politician would let that be the guiding inspiration of policy. It is, however, the "loss of face" incident to extraterritoriality which is vital. "Face" is the soul of China; a Chinese will fight for his "face" quicker than for anything else, and his attitude is understandable in the West if an analogy is drawn between "face" and honor, or religion.

There are also other items of scarcely less importance. The Chinese feel, and adduce evidence to prove, that foreign courts are used to defy Chinese sovereignty. The lone Brazilian recently registered in a foreign census of China was not even a Brazilian, but came from somewhere in the Near East. He assumed Brazilian nationality because the laws of Brazil did not preclude operating a gambling house, while the Chinese laws against gambling are as severe as American laws against alcoholic liquor. For years the entire Mexican population of Shanghai, four in number, engaged in operating

gambling establishments. They were arrested and freed time after time under Mexican law and were in jail when the Mexican treaty expired. Then they were tried under Chinese law and given stiff fines and jail sentences. Opponents of the abolition of extraterritoriality, writing in the Shanghai press, described these sentences as "brutal," yet a Chinese in Michigan, until recently, would have been liable to a life sentence for having a half pint of gin upon his fourth arrest.

Many small consulates, and perhaps some of the larger ones, have sold extraterritorial rights to Chinese by registering them as citizens, and such Chinese invariably engaged in political, or criminal, activities against the existing government. Many foreigners as well have participated in Chinese politics under the protection of extraterritoriality. The writer once did so himself when arrested in Peking on a rather absurd charge by the late Chang Tso-lin government. Although the charge, "conspiracy to overthrow the government," was far fetched for one engaged in nothing more than writing news and propaganda articles for a newspaper operated by a government fighting Chang Tso-lin, the right of a government to suppress such enterprise is unquestioned in international conventions. By invoking extraterritoriality the writer avoided a possibly long and wearying jail term, but from any other than a strictly personal viewpoint his case was far more of an argument against extraterritoriality than for it.

The Chinese further contend that justice is frequently partial and prejudiced in foreign courts where the plaintiffs are Chinese. His British Majesty's Courts, which include a supreme court and a police court, are especially under fire on this charge. One case frequently cited is that of a British police inspector, who was charged with killing a Chinese coolie by kicking him down stairs in a fit of anger at his laziness. That the inspector kicked the coolie down stairs was not disputed, but a police medical

commission declared the coolie had actually died of kidney trouble. The inspector was not punished except by demotion and reprimand.

The British court is handicapped by the jury system. It is virtually impossible, especially in Shanghai where racial prejudice against the Chinese is so strong among foreigners, to find a jury that would impose as severe a sentence upon a foreigner for assaulting a Chinese as it would mete out to a foreigner assaulting another foreigner. And arguments with ricksha coolies and servants provoke many assaults. One especially glaring miscarriage of British justice came under the writer's observation shortly after the Nanking incident in 1927. A British soldier was charged with criminal assault on a Chinese servant girl. Two young men (Chinese) of the household in which the girl worked identified the soldier positively among a group of six or seven in identical uniforms. The only defense of the soldier was an alibi supported by one of his comrades, and the judge's summing up indicated belief in the guilt of the accused. Yet the jury found him not guilty.

The United States Court for China, which has existed since 1907, consular courts prevailing prior, has never been attacked for displaying racial partiality. There are no juries, the Supreme Court of the United States having ruled that the Constitution does not follow the flag, and the present judge, Milton D. Purdy, is one of the fairest and most intelligent jurists with whom the writer is acquainted. He has done much to win prestige for America in China. He has ruled, for example, that offenses by American sailors ashore come under his jurisdiction where there can be no doubt of their punishment, as there could be if their cases were handled in the secrecy of military courts. Further, Judge Purdy acts on the principle that Americans, after all, are guests in China, and the punishment for offenses against Chinese should be even more severe than for offenses against other Americans.

The American court has a commissioner for minor cases, and one commissioner several years ago created a sensation in Shanghai by sentencing a prominent American to a jail term, with no alternative, for assaulting a ricksha coolie. Previously only fines and reparations had been customary.

CHINESE JUSTICE BELOW WESTERN STANDARDS

Turning to the foreigner's side of the case, it is all too obvious that many of his fears of Chinese justice and its administration are supported by valid evidence. The Chinese have established many excellent courts, notably the Mixed Court of Shanghai, and their present written laws compare favorably with those of the West from which they were copied. Manslaughter, for example, is no longer punishable by death; but it seems to be an axiom in Chinese jurisprudence that a pedestrian is never in the wrong in cases growing out of automobile accidents. Furthermore, Chinese written law is a scrap of paper outside the great cities like Shanghai. The majority of the courts have grafting judges and are subservient to the nearest military authority. Trained judges are few, most of the jails are barbaric, and procedure is chaotic.

The report in 1927 of the Commission on Extraterritorial Jurisdiction in China, headed by Silas H. Strawn of Chicago, was not, for the most part, exaggerated, and little progress has been made since. This report said, briefly, that the Chinese judiciary was far below Western standards, and that extraterritoriality should not be abolished until the country achieved a strong, unified government that could give assurance of a modern, independent system of courts. And even China's best friends are forced to admit that the present Nationalist Government is neither strong nor unified.

Another argument against abolition of extraterritoriality is that China at heart is not as radically changed from what it was a century ago as the surface would indicate. The old customs,

and some of the old tortures so abhorrent to the modern Western mind, still linger. The present Nationalist Government permits execution of murderers by slow, barbaric strangulation, and many are killed in this fashion every week. But, of course, much Western savagery could be cited, and is cited by Chinese when invidious comparisons are made. The Sacco-Vanzetti case was widely publicized throughout Cathay.

There is one tremendous change, however, from the China of 1829 to the China of 1929. The Chinese today do not wish to oust foreign residents as did the Manchus. The Chinese no longer wish to be cut off from the West; they wish to trade and exchange produce and ideas with other countries. Where the Manchus would deliberately have used their courts to rid the country of foreigners, the Chinese now would most likely modify their courts and customs in favor of foreigners they regarded as desirable. Foreigners regarded as offensive might not encounter such courtesy. That is one reason why many foreigners now resident in China have sound reason to fear the abolition of extraterritoriality.

Japan, whose surface is more deceptive than that of China, has not altogether changed at heart from a code adopted from ancient Cathay. Much evidence to this effect is given by A. Morgan Young, British editor of the *Japan Chronicle*, in his book just published, *Japan in Recent Times*. He recounts much graft, savagery, and persecution, yet thousands of foreigners live peacefully and profitably in the Flowery Kingdom despite abolition of extraterritoriality three decades ago. Japanese injustice has not borne heavily on foreigners who have behaved themselves, nor has it prevented publication of Mr. Young's excellent and independent newspaper.

There are many countries in the world which do not conform judicially to the best American and English standards. While in Shanghai, Senator Bingham is reported to have told a

group of Americans that justice was as uncertain in many courts of Latin America as in Chinese courts, but that Americans had succeeded in living and trading in these countries by maintaining decorous behavior and avoiding civil actions in the courts as much as possible.

POSITION OF RUSSIANS

The Germans and the Russians are the only large groups of foreigners now residing in China without extraterritoriality. The Russians have suffered considerable persecution, but only where they have been engaged in political activities. White Russians working for the late Chang Tso-lin government were harshly treated by the near-Red Wuhan government, and Red Russians everywhere today are paying dearly for Bolshevik participation in Chinese internal politics. Neutral White Russians, so far as the writer has been able to observe, obtain a square deal in the Chinese courts.

The Germans have adapted themselves to the rôle of equality with Chinese with no more judicial hardships than could be found in any country. In the 1927 revolutionary disturbances they succeeded in living and trading in outposts of the interior that the British, French, Americans and Japanese were forced to evacuate despite extraterritorial protection.

This brings us to the final point. Extraterritoriality will become increasingly void of potency with the progress of nationalism. If the Chinese continue to insist that extraterritoriality must go, go it must unless foreign powers are willing to attempt the task of policing more than 400,000,000 people, or unless foreigners evacuate. In the revolutionary stress of 1927 in the Yangtse Valley, extraterritoriality proved more of a curse than a blessing, as the example of the Germans demonstrated. The existence of extraterritoriality depends either upon its acceptance by the Chinese or upon a police force of incredible size. Either alternative seems unlikely.

Modern Science Disclosing the Mysteries of Nature

The American Philosophical Society, founded in 1727 by Benjamin Franklin, under the leadership of Dr. Dercum is making a survey of what has been achieved by science up to the present, with a view to formulating a program which may be used as a guide in correlating this knowledge for further researches. The distinguished scientist summarizes some of the most recent conclusions, and demonstrates that these new discoveries only partially lift the veil which shrouds the undisclosed mysteries of Nature.

By DR. FRANCIS X. DERCUM

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

THE many and increasing advances made by mankind in the last few centuries have in our own day expanded into an era of glorious achievement. The new truths revealed by the physical world have led to results both novel and astounding. Perhaps, at first, we call to mind the familiar stories of the application of steam to travel by land and sea, of the transmission of our thought by telegraph and telephone, of the lighting of our cities and homes by electricity, and the recording, by the simplest of mechanical devices, of the human voice. Soon, however, with startling vividness come thoughts of the moving picture, which had its origin years ago in the investigations of Muybridge; soon we think of the transmission of photographs by telephone; then of the radio and, again, almost with incredulity, of the transmission of photographs by radio, and of television. Again, with a feeling of having forgotten the most astounding advance of all, we think of the airplane and of the dirigible, and, finally, but not least of the wonders, of the gyroscope.

Shall we pause here? If so, it will be for a little while only. Is it not likely that we are at the dawn of a still more

marvelous future? First, it is exceedingly probable that the technical details of the various great advances will be greatly improved; that the moving picture in coloring, perspective, stereoscopic effect and sound reproduction will produce the illusion of reality; that television and radio photography will be a matter of household equipment, and that travel by air will be as safe—it not more so—than travel by land or sea.

As regards the airplane, no matter how great the recent improvements, we can, I think, look forward with confidence to the appearance of a flying machine so constructed as to enable the operator to rise or to alight at a given spot at will without the necessity of "taxying"; a flying machine which will have as its equipment for purposes of equilibration, perhaps, a gyroscope, and in addition to radio facilities, also an apparatus for television and telephotography. Perhaps, too, some source of energy other than gasoline will be discovered; one that will yield more power with a greatly lessened weight. Similar and even greater hopes may no doubt be entertained for the dirigible. The thought also suggests itself that the danger of travel

by land, sea or air will be greatly lessened by the conquest of mists, fogs and clouds. Indeed, inasmuch as the rays of radio transmission and the rays of light are close kin, it is not perhaps an excessive hope that this will be accomplished. The invisible radio rays traverse the fogs; if they can be received and converted into light rays the problem is solved.

That advance will also be made in paths entirely new, there can be no question. The interpretation of the atom with its proton and its electrons, its "quantum" and its "wave," the study of the spectra of the stars, the study of the corona of the sun, have led to a close approach of the two fields of astronomy and physics, and a fertile field, astrophysics, has made its appearance. It has led to a veritable chemical analysis of some of the elements, to an increased knowledge of the physics of light and of the structure and behavior of some of the heavenly bodies. Whether the facts acquired have a practical application is of secondary importance; a matter that the future alone can determine. To such an outcome, however, we can look forward with confidence.

INVESTIGATION OF LIVING MATTER

Again, there is reason to believe that in the world of living things much also will be accomplished. Here the problems that present themselves differ from those presented by the non-living world, but this difference will probably be revealed to be one of degree and not of kind. The first task of the investigator is to divest himself of the preconceived notion that the phenomena presented by living matter are separated from those presented by non-living matter by a chasm, an abyss, which it is hopeless to attempt to cross. In this attitude, he is in the position of the "naturalist" of pre-Darwinian days. The intellectual upheaval which followed the announcement of Darwin's view of the origin of species was followed by a rapidly expanding knowledge of biology in general, as well as by great advances in many other de-

partments of human inquiry. A new light flooded the human intellect, and a freedom of thought of revolutionary character replaced the thralldom of the fixed and treadmill thinking of the past.

It is in the spirit of this freedom that the approach to the inquiry as to the nature of living matter must be made. Much of the old attitude in regard to living matter has been due to a misconception of the nature of matter in general. The fact that protons and electrons are but the expressions of that dynamic something—term it electricity or energy or what-not—of which the universe in its entirety is composed, at once makes a great breach in the wall which is supposed to separate "living" from "non-living" matter.

The object of this essay forbids an extended consideration of living matter either as to its origin or as to its structure. Suffice it to say that the evidence points to its origin in the ocean water of primeval times. Gradually acid bodies containing nitrogen make their appearance, the so-called amino acids. Likewise starchy substances, compounds of carbon and molecules of water, hence termed carbohydrates, appeared; and also fatty substances having for their basic structure carbon and hydrogen. These materials did not form a chemical compound, but an aggregate, protoplasm, and into this aggregate various mineral substances, alkaline and earthy salts and iron, found entrance. No doubt simpler bodies made their appearance first, and in the course of time these grew more and more complex. This upbuilding process or synthesis, was, as it is today, unceasing, and to it is due the persistence and the vast spread of living matter over the earth. This upbuilding process is attended also by a downbuilding process, which is the result of oxidation. This oxidation is continuous and resembles a perpetual fire. The "ashes," gaseous, liquid and solid, are dispersed into the surrounding medium.

Into the chemical changes taking place in living matter, there enters also

the action of bodies known as ferments or enzymes, but which had best be termed collectively "catalysts." A catalyst is a body which by its presence alone sets into activity chemical processes in other bodies without itself undergoing any change whatever; for instance, spongy platinum brings about the oxidation of alcoholic vapor, and also the union of hydrogen and oxygen. It itself, of course, undergoes no change. When we realize that in the union of hydrogen and oxygen in the presence of spongy platinum it is the enormous increase of surface in the spongy platinum which is the causal factor, a most suggestive inference is presented. Living protoplasm is a colloid (namely a gelatinous chemical substance which diffuses very slowly and scarcely affects the vapor pressure or boiling point of its solutions) with many aggregates. The colloidal state is a "dynamic" state of matter. In a structure such as protoplasm, a vast number of minute particles constitute the "disperse" phase, and as a consequence the sum total of "surface energy" is vastly increased in every way analogous to the increase of surface energy in spongy platinum. Obviously the problems presented by living mat-

ter are recondite, yet they are not necessarily insoluble; indeed, there is every justification for placing problems of living matter among the conquests of a not too distant future.

Among the problems to be solved may be briefly summarized the following:

What is the origin of the nitrogenous compounds, of the carbohydrates, of the fats? How and why did the association of these materials come about? What is the rôle of the mineral substances? What are the dynamic factors in the differentiation of plants and animals, in the differentiation of sex; in the development and multiple evolution of plant and animal forms?

PROBLEMS OF MAN'S ORIGIN

Among all the problems those in regard to man are the most appealing. When and whence did he come? What factors determined his existence? The view that man and the great apes have originated from a common stock, anthropoid or perhaps pre-anthropoid, is held by the vast majority of the advanced thinkers of our day. This view, it is hardly necessary to state, is based upon the evidence furnished by fossils and the remains of primitive races of



From *An Introduction to Anthropology*, Harper & Bros., 1926

SKELETONS OF MAN AND THE MAN-LIKE APES

mankind, by the evidence of comparative anatomy and by the evidence of embryology, foetal stages and infancy. The facts, as far as known, point strongly to lemur-like creatures as the animal forms in which the simians—the monkey and ape-like forms—had their origin. Passing from the fossils of primitive monkeys, found in the eocene and oligocene periods, we come to the anthropoids, which first make their appearance in the miocene period. We note that ten fossil forms of anthropoids have become known, and that the structure of one form especially, *dryopithecus*, generalized in type, presents facts of structure—dentition and other features—which may very well have placed him in an ancestral relation to man. A remarkable fossil, too, has within the last few years been found in the tunga of South Africa, Bechuanaland, the *Australopithecus*. It was especially interesting because *Australopithecus* was no longer a tree-dwelling anthropoid, but had become a cave-dwelling creature, and from being a purely vegetable feeder, as all of the other anthropoids had been, and as the existing anthropoids, the gorilla, the chimpanzee, the orang and the gibbon still are, had become an omnivorous creature, living upon turtles, birds, eggs, small insectivora, rodents, baboons and perhaps small bok. "The material (in the fossilized deposits) indicates by its nature, its sparsity, its searched-over character, the careful and thorough picking by an animal which did not live to kill large animals but killed small animals in order to live." Such is the finding of Professor Raymond A. Dart.

The first definitely intermediate remains, or remains presenting undoubted human characteristics, were those found by Dubois in Java in 1891 and 1892. Much more nearly approaching



From *Caricatures of Today*, A. & C. Boni, 1928

CHARLES DARWIN

From a caricature by Spy

man is the Piltdown man (*Eoanthropus*) and the Heidelberg man, despite enormous ridges over his brows.

Together with these findings are the suggestive facts of structure. The facts of anatomy point clearly to the kinship of the anthropoids and man. There are present differences of degree, but never differences in kind. The facts of embryological and foetal life, as far as they are known, also point overwhelmingly to this kinship. Many of them, indeed, are most suggestive; as for instance, the resemblance of the chimpanzee foetus in the eighth month to the human foetus of the same period, and of the orang and the human infant at the birth periods.

The question arises: why are fossil remains, both humanoid and anthropoid, comparatively few in number? Is it because the anthropoid ancestors of man were forest dwellers, and because when they died their remains were disposed of by rodents and perhaps other creatures? Is not the fact that primitive man early began to protect the remains of his dead comrades by stones, by burial and like means, suggestive in this connection?

Intensive search pursued in various parts of the earth may furnish additional evidence as to the anthropoid origin of man. Doubtless, too, collateral evidence from the study of living anthropoids both in nature and in captivity will yield much valuable corroborative information. On the whole, the available facts from all sources are such as to justify the opinion that man and the anthropoids had their origin from a common stock. The conquest of the future in this special field will be based not only upon the intensive study of the material available, but also upon the additional fossils that unexplored regions of the earth may yet place in our hands.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

It is, however, upon evidence derived from the two fields of anthropology and archaeology that valuable additional information as to man's rise above the level of a mere animal existence will be secured. Can the past be unraveled to show the change from the existence in the forest to the existence in the plains and caves? Was this change attended by modifications in the structure and functions of the extremities; increased length of the legs with increasing bipedal attitude and bipedal gait, and a lessened length of arms with increasing aptitude for manipulation of hands and digits? When did this anthropoid creature become gregarious? At what stage did he begin to use sticks and stones as tools? That chimpanzees develop this ability in a measure has been shown by the experiments and observations of Köhler. It is probable, therefore, that

our human progenitor developed it very early. When did he begin to leave his caves and construct artificial shelters? When did the cries of alarm, fear, anger or of pleasure, cries at the sight of food or water, develop into well-defined sounds conveying definite meaning from one individual to another? Is the past forever to remain impenetrable from this stage to the period when archaeologists find the first unmistakable evidences of civilization?

Are the questions as to when and how he discovered fire, or as to when and how he first began to make use of sun-dried or baked earth or clay, never to be answered? Is it possible, perhaps, that in striking together the pieces of flint from which he was making his first tools, the sparks that emanated set ablaze dry leaves or grass, and thus made him acquainted with his first fire? Is it not possible, too, that food being scarce, he sought the remnants of his last kill, and finding that it had undergone a change which made its consumption as food almost impossible, and stimulated by hunger, the idea occurred to him to throw the remnant of the kill upon the flint-made fire, and thus make it, in a way, possible as food? Is it not in some such way as this, perhaps, that the use of fire in the preparation of food was first discovered? Is it not possible, also, that a fire having been built, it was found afterward that the earth beneath it, concave now or perhaps scooped out, had become hard, and that it retained the rainwater which subsequently fell upon it? Is it not, perhaps, possible that this discovery led to the development of the art of pottery? These are problems which, as just stated, it is for the students of anthropology and archaeology to solve. It may be that we must remain content with speculation and conjecture, but is this necessarily so?

The systematic story of man's early conquests of nature needs still to be told in its entirety; his association with and final domestication of various animals; his discovery and use of metals; his early making of records, markings on

stone, pictures and symbols. The rise and history of civilization may be safely left in the hands of the brilliant explorers of our day. The marvelous results achieved in the land of the Egyptians and in the land of the Sumerians—the latter rescued but yesterday from oblivion—speak most eloquently. These conquests of a dark and apparently impenetrable past augur well for the future. The light which they throw upon primitive human relations, thought and traditions, penetrates not only the subsequent classical period but also the period of our civilization.

CONQUESTS OF THE FUTURE

That civilization is not standing still; no civilization can stand still. It is in a condition of continuous change. We are constantly brought face to face with "conquests of the future." Great practical attainments lie before us. Unheard of, undreamed of achievements will be in our hands. Time and space will set no limits to our goal. The long-dormant thought of ancient Greece has been born anew. The torch of a great renaissance is illuminating dark vistas of human understanding, and the great practical advances of mankind are paralleled by great interpretations. The conception of relativity,

with its four dimensions—the three classical dimensions plus the dimension of time—the conception of space-time continuum, the new conception of the physics of light, with the deflection of its rays by gravitation, and the last great achievement of Einstein, the proof of the identity of electromagnetism and gravitation, all influence modern thought in a degree not yet fully realized. How shall the conquests of the future be brought about? Special studies must be, as heretofore, intensively pursued. Such studies, by determining new facts, lead inevitably to the opening up of new fields of investigation. They are, however, of greatest value when the relation of these facts to others in kindred or in remote fields become apparent. Emphasis has repeatedly been placed upon the importance of the correlation of knowledge. Progress, indeed, demands the coordination of facts from numerous special fields. In such a coordination the American Philosophical Society is especially interested, and it has been proposed as part of the plan for expanding the usefulness of the society to have syntheses of the progress of learning in the various departments of knowledge prepared at stated intervals with this special purpose in view.

The Italo-American Conflict on Naturalization

By ROBERT FERRARI
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"THE ONLY important unsolved problem between the United States and Italy today has to do with dual nationality," says a *New York Times* editorial of Aug. 2, 1929. This question has been up between the two nations for years, and the present time seems particularly opportune for a discussion of it, because there is at last some probability of reaching a solution, the League of Nations Commission of Jurists on the Codification of International Law having decided that among the four subjects to be definitely studied is the subject of dual nationality.

The bearing of the question of dual nationality on Americans is pervading and profound. It is occupying the minds of people in this country as never before. Numerous cases have occurred during the last few years which have called attention to the need of a determination of the question whether an individual owes allegiance to one country or to two. The glaring inconsistencies of the present condition of international law, and the grave consequences to which these inconsistencies lead, make it essential that the subject be thoroughly discussed.

The Department of State, under the date of June 9, 1915, issued as a circular a letter directed to Senator Lodge by the Secretary of State, Robert Lansing. It concerned the case of an Italian, Ugo Da Prato, who was born in Boston, Aug. 25, 1895, of a naturalized American citizen who was a native of Italy. Ugo Da Prato went to Italy in 1912 to study architecture and was detained in that country for

military service. The question presented itself as to whether Ugo Da Prato could lawfully be held by the Italian authorities. The decision of the department was that he could not lawfully be held, that under Italian law, American law and international law Ugo Da Prato was an American citizen, and not in any respect whatsoever an Italian subject.

The circular summed up the law upon the subject inasmuch as a great many similar cases had presented themselves to the department. It appears, then, that it is the contention of the American Government that a person born in America of a naturalized Italian parent is considered American and owes no duties of military service or otherwise to the country of origin of the father. It appears also that a person born of an unnaturalized resident of the United States who was born in Italy is considered by the American Government an American citizen by birth and an Italian subject by blood. The Department of State says that this is and has been the law, as it has been upheld by both the United States and the Italian Governments.

As an illustration of the second case—the birth in America of a son of an unnaturalized father—the department gives the instance of P. A. Le Long Jr. Le Long was born in the State of Louisiana of French subjects. He applied for a passport and for protection, inasmuch as he was about to leave for France. The Department of State refused protection because he was born in America of French nationals, and, although an American citizen by birth,

was also a French citizen and thus subject to military duties in France.

The Department of State is not always consistent in its application of the law to individual cases. Sometimes the questioner gets a blunt refusal of protection in the form of a statement which gives "no assurance that a person who was born in this country of Italian parents would not be molested or actually detained for military service in case he should place himself within the jurisdictional limits of Italy." Sometimes the individual is cautioned not to go to the country of origin of his father, but is informed that if he does go there in future and is drafted into the army he is to apply to the consular or diplomatic officer of the United States in that place, who will report the matter to the department in order that such measures may be taken as will seem warranted by the peculiar facts and circumstances of the case.

In the case of Le Long, who at the time of application for protection was a minor, the State Department made the statement that the fact that his father had not yet acquired naturalization as a citizen of the United States at the time of the son's birth was especially important:

The extent to which this government may go, and the arguments which it may use, in the actual protection of persons who were born in the United States of alien fathers and who may be molested while temporarily visiting the countries of origin of the latter, must necessarily depend upon the particular facts and circumstances of each case. In no case, in the absence of conventional arrangements, can the department assure such persons in advance that they will not be held liable, under the laws of other countries concerned, for the performance of military or other public service attaching to citizenship.

This language is important in connection with the subsequent discussion concerning the doctrine of election. It seems that this is an indication of the fact that when the case is that of an adult, who, born in America of foreign

parents, has reached his majority and exercised the duties of American citizenship by voting, the department might consider a different decision. For the present it is enough to indicate a few other contentions of the American Government as they appear from the circular mentioned.

OUR STAND ON DUAL NATIONALITY

It appears that the American Government holds that a naturalized citizen has a single allegiance to the United States, but that an American-born citizen of foreign parents is subject to military duties in the other nations, as in Italy. In the event of war between the United States and Italy an American, born of naturalized or unnaturalized Italian parents, will be a traitor to Italy and considered a deserter from the army. If he should, on the other hand, recognize his allegiance to Italy by entering the Italian army, he will be a traitor to the United States. This is an extraordinary situation—a situation which ought to be cleared away.

The Government of the United States recognizes the fact that native-born citizens may be born with a dual nationality. But it also holds that naturalized American citizens cannot rightfully be called upon to fulfill military or other obligations to the country of their origin unless these accrued before their emigration. This is a holding of the American Government, but it is also a platonic holding:

The department has always deemed it advisable to call the attention of naturalized Italians to the position in which they will be placed in case they voluntarily return to Italy. During and since the administration of President Roosevelt, the Department of State has accordingly issued a circular warning them to this effect, entitled: "Notice to American citizens formerly subjects of Italy who contemplate returning to the country," which contains the following statement: "Naturalization of an Italian subject in a foreign country without consent of the Italian Government is no bar to liability to military service."

Here is a contradiction. "This government holds that naturalized Amer-

ican citizens cannot rightfully be called upon to perform military or other obligations which had not actually accrued before their emigration." But at the same time it does not hold that American-born citizens "cannot rightfully be called upon to perform military or other obligations." Naturalized citizens in that case have a better status than native-born citizens. Citizens by birth become such by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. A person born abroad, let us say, residing in the United States for seven years, has become a citizen of the United States through naturalization. That man has not exercised his right to vote in this country; he has not, to all intents and purposes, assumed any of the obligations of citizenship in America. And yet he is held by the United States Government not to be subject to military service in the land of his origin. But another person born in America of unnaturalized parents, at the present time fifty years old, and having since the age of twenty-one exercised the political franchise and assumed all the burdens of American citizenship—that person is held by the American Government to be subject to military service in the land of origin of his father.

Treaties, under which naturalized citizens are not subject to military duties in the lands of their origin, have been made with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and Portugal. Italy is one of the few nations of Europe that still holds out for the imposition of the burdens of military duties upon American-born children of foreign parents.

The position of America in dealing with Italy for the purpose of negotiating with her in respect to the allegiance of children born in America of Italian parents may be considered, from one point of view, to be weak. If America wants Italy to give up her rights to American-born children of her sons, it must be a logical sequence that America is to give up her doctrine that a child born an American abroad is an American citizen. Under the following

provision in Section 1993 (Act of Feb. 10, 1856) of the Revised Statutes of the United States, it says: "All children heretofore born or hereafter born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or may be at the time of their birth citizens thereof, are declared to be citizens of the United States; but the rights of citizenship shall not descend to children whose fathers never resided in the United States." America retains control over the children of an American, even though they be born abroad. This doctrine is a stumbling block in negotiations with Italy. It ought either to be removed or a different argument should be presented to the authorities of Italy which would show that the position of America in respect to children born of American citizens abroad is a policy which can be applied also by Italy. For the United States has never maintained the position that a child born abroad, of American parents, is *ipso facto* an American citizen, but it has taken the position that the child is an American during minority; at majority, however, he may elect either the American allegiance or the allegiance of the foreign country where he was born.

ELECTION OF NATIONALITY

The doctrine of election of nationality has not been given sufficient consideration either by the American Government or by the Italian Government. I believe that if the United States does not wish to give up the doctrine of American citizenship by blood it must resort in its negotiations with Italy to this doctrine of election:

"While the law is indisputable that the child of an American father, born abroad, takes his father's nationality when an infant, I apprehend that the rule is settled that when he arrives at full age he may elect to surrender such nationality and accept that of the country of his birth and residence. The preponderance of authority is that such election is final."*

*Moore's *Digest of International Law*, Page 548. Following quotations are from the same source.

I give another example: "With regard to the case of Victor Labroue, who was born in France of an American father, and who was still living in that country, the Department of State said:

This election (of allegiance) cannot be made by Victor Labroue until he arrives at full age in September, 1886, and the election, to be operative, must not only be formally and solemnly declared, but must be followed by coming to, and taking up his abode in the United States. Should he remain voluntarily in France after the period when the French law, as well as the law of nations, requires him to make his election, this may properly be regarded as an abandonment of American and an acceptance of French citizenship. (Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, 1886.)

This very interesting case is also given. A child was born to a father naturalized in America, and was taken abroad during minority. It is held that the citizenship of the child during minority is the citizenship of the father, namely: American. If the father renounces his citizenship, the child, during minority, becomes a subject of the country of the father. In spite of these various changes in the citizenship of the son during minority, it is held by the American Government that the child may, upon reaching his majority, decide which country he will bear allegiance to. Another example is on Page 542 of Moore: A naturalized American goes to his country of origin *animo manendi*: that is, with the idea of remaining; the child born in America after the father's naturalization follows the domicile of the father during infancy. The father becomes a citizen of his country of origin and the minor follows this citizenship of the father by operation of law. But, upon reaching majority, he has the right of election.

Now it seems that by applying this principle to the case of an Italian subject who comes to America and has a son during his unnaturalized period, we could argue to Italy that although the child would be an Italian sub-

ject during minority, the child might, upon reaching majority, change his allegiance.

Has the attitude of the American Government always been what it is concerning the admission that naturalized citizens are entitled to better protection? and that native-born sons of unnaturalized citizens are entitled to protection? The United States Government has said: "The Department is not aware that this claim (of military service in Italy) has been extended to the second generation, and if you were born in the United States it is not thought that any claim would be made on you for military service should you visit Italy." (Mr. Day, Assistant Secretary of State, 1896.) It has also said: "So far as the Department was informed, the Italian Government has shown no disposition to extend its military laws to cover the cases of children of persons of Italian origin born in the United States." (Secretary Olney, 1897.)

It is evident, from these quotations that the United States Government does not believe that Italy will reach out its hand to the second generation of Italians born in America. These quotations are as recent as 1897 and 1898, and if they indicate accurately the position of Italy then it may be less difficult to dislodge Italy from the position which is has since assumed.

Other pronouncements may be quoted:

The feeling in the United States, as you are aware, is very strong against compulsory military or naval service of naturalized citizens in countries where they were born. This sentiment that government would be bound to respect. Cases of the kind frequently occurred with the German States prior to the naturalization treaties with them. Since then, however, it is believed that no difficulty upon the subject has happened. It is a matter of regret in the interest of friendly relations with Italy that she should have declined our overtures for a similar convention.

There is no naturalization treaty between this government and that of Italy; but it is the purpose of this government to insist in such cases that

a naturalized citizen is entitled to the same exemption from military service as our native citizens would be in like circumstances. (Secretary Evarts, 1879.)

The State Department of the present day, however, is not so insistent as the State Department of 1879 was.

ITALY'S ATTITUDE

Now, having looked at the point of view of the American Government and the method by which the American Government may approach Italy for the purpose of making the law conform to the actual conditions of the present, we come to a discussion of the position of Italy.

Articles 11 and 12 of the Italian Civil Code provide, among other things, the following:

He who has acquired citizenship in the cases mentioned does not obtain exemption from the obligations of military service, nor from the penalties imposed on those who bear arms against their country."

The government of the United States makes the following explanation of this:

Under the provisions of law mentioned, the Italian Government recognizes the naturalization of Italians as citizens of other countries, but holds them liable for military service in Italy unless they have been expressly excused therefrom. In view of Article 11, persons born in this country of fathers naturalized before their births are not considered Italian subjects or held liable for military service in Italy. It is very important that in each case of this kind the department should be furnished with the best documentary evidence procurable of the naturalization of the father and the subsequent birth in this country of the son, so that necessary assurance may be given to the Italian Government.

The Italian Civil Code also provides, Article 4, Title 1: "That the son, where the father is a citizen, is likewise a citizen." But Article 6 provides:

A person born in a foreign country of a father who has lost his citizenship before the birth of the son is consid-

ered as a foreigner. He may, however, elect Italian citizenship, provided he makes a declaration to that effect according to the foregoing Article, and establishes his domicile in the kingdom within a year from the time of such declaration. Nevertheless, if he has accepted public office in the kingdom, or has served or is serving in the Italian army or navy, or has otherwise complied with the provisions of the military law, without claiming exemption on the ground of his being a foreigner, he shall be considered as a citizen.

Italy, therefore, recognizes expatriation, but to a limited extent only. It allows a person to become an American citizen, but does not at the same time exempt him from military duties in Italy. The child born in America of a naturalized American citizen of Italian birth may obtain Italian citizenship by an easy road. But Italy will not allow a native-born American of Italian parents to lose his Italian citizenship unless he was born of a naturalized father.

The reasoning of the Italian Government in exempting American-born children of naturalized Italian parents from military service and all other obligations of allegiance to Italy is not quite clear. Nor does the circular above referred to, from the Department of State, make the matter any clearer. The son of a naturalized citizen is completely forsworn by the Italian Government. But why should this be so? Italy does not exempt the father, even though he be naturalized, from military service in Italy, and if burdens descend, as well as benefits, it seems that the son should, reasoning logically, also be subject to military duties in Italy. The reasoning in cases where a child is born of an unnaturalized father is that the child follows the citizenship of the father. Italy holds that the son receives all the benefits and all the burdens of the father's allegiance to the realm of Italy. Why, then, should not both the privileges and the burdens of the father descend to the son of the naturalized citizen in the same way as the privileges and

burdens descend to the son in the case where the parent is unnaturalized? The positions are inconsistent. If Italy holds that the son of an unnaturalized parent is subject to military duty in Italy, it should logically hold that the son of a naturalized parent is subject to military service also.

NEED OF CLARIFYING TREATY

The United States Government must clarify its position to Italy especially upon the question of the doctrine of election. It must endeavor to show to Italy that the principles that have guided America in applying the law to individual cases of Americans are the same as the laws that it wishes Italy to apply to American citizens born here of Italian parents. If Italy does not wish to make absolute the American citizenship of a person born here of unnaturalized Italian parents, it can, with perfect justice, require of the American Government, in cases where Americans abroad have children, that a provision of the treaty between the two nations be that the children during minority have the citizenship of the father, but, upon reaching majority, elect their allegiance.

Now as to the mode of election. It is important to note that election may be made not only in a formal and express way but also in an informal and implicit way. It is not requisite for an individual formally to appear before constituted authorities, or to have prepared a document which indicates his abandonment of a particular allegiance and his assumption of another. But any act which would indicate subjection to a particular allegiance ought to be sufficient. A child born of natu-

ralized Italian parents, arriving at the age of 21 and voting in any of the States of this Union, should, by that fact, be held to have elected to be subject to American sovereignty.

The Italian Government must see the inconsistency of its own position and must endeavor to correct it. It can make the position consistent by exempting from military service the children of unnaturalized parents, as well as the children of naturalized parents. But if this inconsistency is not corrected, the American Government should insist upon its doctrine of election. It should show to Italy that it is asking of Italy nothing more than what America is doing in regard to its own native-born sons.

The time is ripe for a treaty between the United States and Italy in which all these confusing things will be clarified and in which the status of individuals will be precisely determined. Italy should see the advantages of such a treaty, since it is most important that the descendants of Italians in America should be allowed to travel in Italy free of all fear of military service. It is advisable that Italian art, Italian literature, Italian science and learning, and Italian culture be disseminated abroad. And who can do this better than those with Italian blood, background and traditions? Italy has nothing to lose and everything to gain by such a procedure. A constant source of irritation will be removed, and friendly relations will be established between Italy and America. The gains to America will be equally great; the gains to individual Americans priceless, since one of the means of education is travel.

Canada's Loyalty to the King

By MILLEDGE L. BONHAM Jr.

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WHEN THE Right Hon. Winston Churchill visited Ottawa in August, 1929, he addressed the Canadian Club there. At the close of the luncheon six hundred or more Canadians rose and sang "God Save the King" with an evident sincerity and enthusiasm that appeared not only to touch Mr. Churchill but to surprise him.

It also surprises the visitor from the United States, who is especially impressed by two things: that the Canadian is a thorough American, and that he has a very strong, very obvious, half-reverent and wholly affectionate regard for King George. This feeling is so different from the attitude of the average citizen of the United States toward the President that it both puzzles and amazes him. Although he has a sincere respect for the office and usually for its incumbent, he is always amused at jokes about the President, and takes cartoons as a matter of course. Canadians, on the other hand, regard a joke about the King or Queen as in very poor taste, and a cartoon as almost irreverent.

If one asks a Canadian why he so regards the Crown, the Canadian is as puzzled as if he had been asked "Why is water wet?" He takes his loyalty for granted, and when asked suddenly to interpret it to the alien visitor, finds himself unprepared to give a satisfactory reply.

If the visitor, as is unfortunately usually the case, knows very little Canadian history, he may jump to the conclusion that this loyalty is simply a survival of feudalism. But let him incautiously call a Canadian a "British subject" and he will be told emphatically that his friend is not a British

subject, but a Canadian citizen. He will be led to perceive that it is not Georgius Rex Britanniae to whom the Canadian is loyal, but Georgius Rex Canadensis. Likewise, say to a Canadian of Gallic descent, "Vous êtes français," and he will inform you that he is a French-Canadian.

Should the visitor be so fortunate as to be fairly well versed in Canadian history, he will be helped thereby to reach a tentative solution of this problem. The people of New France (1608-1760) were intensely devoted to King and Church. They regarded the Protestant Colonists of New England and New York with both hatred and horror, akin to the feeling of the medieval Spaniard for the Moor. When the treaty of 1763 transferred New France and its inhabitants to England, their new King assured them that they might either go to France or remain in Canada. Those remaining would be at liberty to pursue their religious life as before. This assurance was substantiated by the Quebec act of 1774, which also continued the use of the French civil law. Hence to the French-Canadians the King appeared as the protector of their religion and their law against the rather aggressive British minority in Canada. When the thirteen revolting Colonies in 1775 and afterward sought to make Canada the fourteenth Colony, this same fear of Protestant aggression kept the bulk of the French-Canadians loyal to the King. As late as the confederation movement of 1864-67, the Catholic clergy of French Canada favored confederation because they feared the alternative would be annexation to the United States, and believed that their religion would fare worse under a

President than under the Queen, though both were Protestants. To this day, this feeling, whether justified or not, is still a factor in their loyalty to Canada. The majority of the Roman Catholics in Canada, both in Quebec and the other Provinces, feel that their religious rights and privileges (especially in educational matters) would be seriously curtailed if Canada and the United States should join together.

Another important historical factor was the large migration of Loyalists from the thirteen Colonies during and after the Revolution. Called "Tories" in the United States, the majority of these people had adhered to the British cause either from sentimental loyalty to the King, or from sincere political conviction, or from a combination of both. No doubt some of the best, as many of the worst, were influenced by self-interest, but loyalty was the most important motive. This loyalty became a matter of pride with them, as had been the devotion of the Jacobites to the Stuarts. It was officially recognized by the Crown, which granted them the privilege of writing after their names the title "United Empire Loyalists." Inevitably they have transmitted their loyalty to their descendants in much the same manner as the Order of the Cincinnati and the Sons of the American Revolution have transmitted a similar devotion in the United States. This feeling of traditional loyalty in Canada is strengthened by personal affection for the present wearer of the crown.

Obviously the War of 1812 was another factor in developing loyalty. Soldiers who fought at Lundy's Lane, Queenstown or Plattsburg had the usual wartime exaggerated patriotism. Also, the bringing together of men from Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper and Lower Canada, engendered a feeling of solidarity. Not only did this operate to help prepare the way for union, it also enhanced attachment to the Crown. It did so in two ways. First, each of these Provinces was at that time governed as a separate colony, and the

King was the common link. As soldiers from one region met others from diverse Provinces, with the same sentiments, the natural and inevitable result, psychologically, was to intensify such sentiments as patriotism, cooperation and loyalty to a common sovereign. Second, as the high command was in the hands of British officers, as all commissions ran in the King's name, and as the royal troops, regulars, formed the nucleus for the colonial levies, these latter and their neighbors, consciously or subconsciously, regarded the King as their protector against the dreaded republic to the south. Pride in their common victories accentuated all these sentiments.

MONARCHY AS ASSE.

Political philosophy, unknowingly to many of its disciples, also operated. A vast majority of Canadians regard the monarchical principle as a valuable asset. They look upon the throne as an assurance of continuity of constitutional progress. To them the violent quadrennial campaigns in the United States appear as obstacles to such continuity, as interruptions of orderly growth. Naturally since the Crown symbolizes the monarchical principle, they are grateful to the Crown for preserving them from such terrific spasms in the body politic. Then, too, Canada takes pride in being the oldest of the autonomous dominions and in having led the way under the aegis of the British Crown in a most significant experiment in constitutional development.

From time to time there has been talk of annexation of Canada to the United States. As far as Canada is concerned, such talk has usually arisen in periods of economic depression, and has never expressed the wish of any large proportion of the Canadian people. A vociferous though insignificant minority has sometimes deceived the people in the United States, where "the will to believe" is strong. For most Canadians, whenever there has been any talk of annexation, however harassed economically, however exasper-

ated with the British Government they might be, devotion to the Crown has been one of the chief influences in causing repudiation of the idea. So far as the present writer can ascertain, there has never been a government of the Dominion which has entertained the idea of holding a referendum on such a subject. It was simply not in the realm of practical politics any more than the one-time proposal in the United States to hold a plebescite on judicial decisions. This statement is probably equally true of the governments of all the component parts of the Dominion. It is true that one occasionally hears a Canadian say: "We have a sentimental regret that British North America was ever dismembered." He hastens to explain, however, that he does not wish that Canada were part of the United States. "I mean I am sorry we ever let the United States go."

The Canadian, however, discriminates in his relations to the British Crown and to the British Government. He is quite willing to admit, boast, in fact, that he is a subject of King George—King of Canada. He does not admit that the British Government has any authority over him; it cannot tax him; it cannot conscript him; it cannot legislate for him. Recently the British naval commander in American waters, during a visit to Ottawa, was reported to have recommended a considerable naval building program for Canada. Regardless of party, the leading journals pointed out that Canada had entirely too much common sense to tie up so much time and capital in any such fashion. The obvious implication was that the suggestion of the British Admiralty would have no weight with any Canadian decision.

On the other hand, Canadian papers carry conspicuously on their front pages the bulletins about the health of the King, which are read and discussed by people of all walks of life. This differentiation between King and British Government has been cogently stated by a former Premier of Canada, Sir Robert L. Borden, in a recent volume

which deserves wide reading in both Canada and the United States, *Canada in the Commonwealth*. Speaking of the position of the Governor General of a Dominion, he says that official has "the same relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by the King in Great Britain and is not to be regarded as the representative or agent of the British Government or of any department thereof. * * * The Crown personifies the majesty of the people and in each nation of the Commonwealth it acts only upon the advice of the people's Executive and always within the control of their Legislature."

The Canadian attitude toward the United States was most interestingly displayed during the Summer of 1929 concerning two very important matters, the exportation of liquor to the United States and the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill. With regard to the first problem, it is carefully pointed out that Canada has a perfectly legal right to give clearances to vessels laden with liquor consigned to some one in the United States. But does Canada wish to make a profit out of a traffic that encourages law-breaking and demoralization within a neighbor's borders? As a matter of moral principle, would it not be wise to enact laws enabling the government to refuse such clearances? Always, the conclusion is that if Canada decides to take such a step it will not be either from fear of the United States or from the desire to please that nation, it will be solely as a matter of Canada's own self-respect. Similarly, with the proposed tariff, frankly admitting that the United States Congress has a perfect right to enact such a law (if it chooses to be so stupid), Canadian editors also frankly admit that many of the proposed rates will be harmful to Canadian industry and commerce. Most of them proceed to decry any attempt to appeal to the United States, or even to protest against the new schedules. Nor do they advocate reprisals in kind. Instead they call upon Canada to survey her resources and industries, as well as her commer-

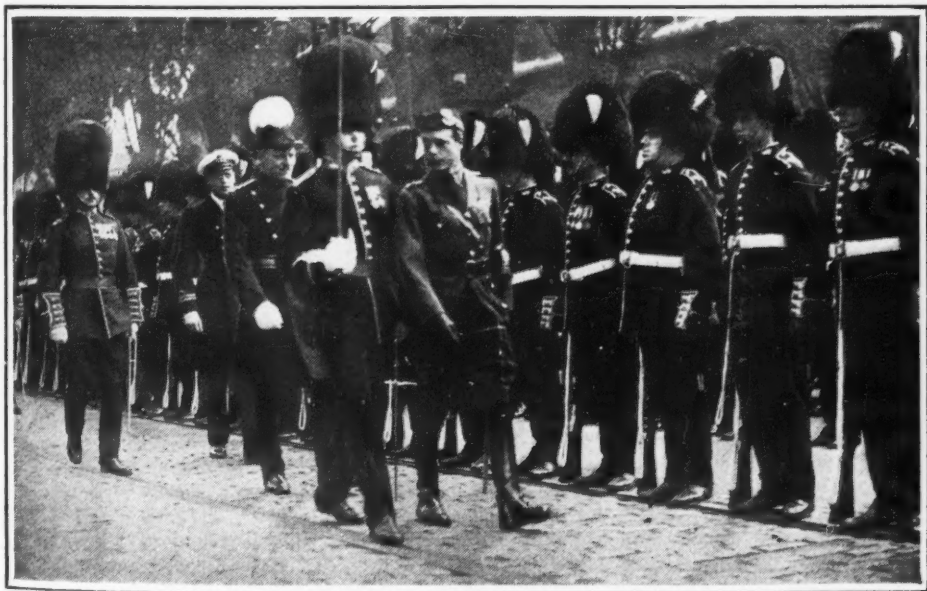
cial possibilities throughout the world, especially within the British Commonwealth of Nations, with a view to Canada's taking care of her own economic welfare, regardless of what our Congress may do. One perceives an admirable self-confidence, a spirit of self-help, that enables one to understand the great strides the Dominion has made in recent decades. One can smile appreciatively at the story of the man who, when asked, "Are you an American?" replied, "No, thank God! I am a Canadian."

The Canadian can be just as independent in his attitude toward the government of Britain as toward that of the United States. It will be recalled that after signing the Peace of Versailles, Lord Milner, the British Foreign Secretary, in accord with immemorial usage, proposed to proclaim the treaty as in effect throughout Britain and the dominions and colonies, when ratified by the King, on the advice of the British Privy Council. Sir Robert Borden, then Canadian Premier, cabled Lord Milner that the treaty must not be proclaimed

until ratified by the Parliament of Canada. Lord Milner, who did not expect to submit the treaty to the British Parliament, was aghast, and replied that haste was essential, and that he could not wait so long. Sir Robert rejoined that his Lordship must wait, or the results might be disastrous. Milner waited. Note that there was here no slightest Canadian objection to the King's ratifying the treaty, but a positive assertion that the British Government could not determine the method of ratification for the Canadian Government. The latter felt that George, King of England, and George, King of Canada, had better ratify once for all, but that the British Ministry could not dictate to the Canadian Government.

CANADIAN ATTITUDE TO UNITED STATES

Now for the other side of the picture. Shortly after the federation, Canadian ships began to fly a flag which was merely the red ensign of the British merchant marine with the Canadian coat of arms displayed upon it. At first the British Admiralty objected to this,



Courtesy Canadian National Railroad

THE PRINCE OF WALES IN MONTREAL

The heir to the British throne inspecting a guard of honor during his visit to Canada in 1920

but after vigorous protests from Governors General, conceded that Canadian ships might display such a flag—which they had been doing all along. Naturally the custom soon spread to the land, and the visitor to Canada soon became familiar with the "Canadian flag" on stores, hotels, private dwellings and the like. Only on government buildings was the Union Jack, the symbol of the King's authority, flown. During the reciprocity campaign of 1911 in the United States, Speaker Clark of the House of Representatives, it will be remembered, incautiously advocated the treaty as a "step toward the annexation of Canada." The world knows the result. Not only did the Canadian electorate repudiate the treaty, but at once the Union Jack began to replace the "Canadian flag" over private buildings. Today the visitor sees an occasional red ensign with the Canadian shield, but at every turn sees the Union Jack, from the Governor General's palace to the truckman's radiator cap. Canada did not fear annexation; she merely wished to tell Uncle Sam in unmistakable terms that no mess of pottage labeled "Reciprocity" could purchase her birthright of loyalty to the British Crown.

Reference has been made to the Canadian's affection for King George. This is one of the strongest factors in the nation's loyalty to the Crown. A great influence in the growth of this affection has been the interest taken by the royal family in the sections now composing the Dominion. Edward, Duke of Kent, father of Victoria, visited this region as early as 1799, whence Ile St. Jean became Prince Edward Island. Queen Victoria's interest and popularity are familiar to all. As Prince of Wales, Edward VII visited Canada in 1860. His brother-in-law, the Marquess of Lorne, was Governor General from 1881-1883, during which time Princess Louise became exceedingly popular. She and Lord Lorne did much to stimulate and develop the fine arts in Canada. Later, her brother, the Duke of Connaught, was Governor General. All the world knows of the Canadian

regiment which proudly called itself the "Princess Patricia's Own," after his daughter. The numerous visits of the present Prince of Wales, who owns a ranch in Alberta, and of his brothers, the Duke of York and Prince Henry, have served to deepen the affection the Canadians feel for the royal family.

It is probably impossible for an alien to apprehend completely the Canadian's feeling for the Crown. In this connection it would be well for every citizen of the United States to read and ponder a recent book, *Canada and the United States*, by H. L. Keenleyside, a Canadian scholar and diplomat, who was partly educated in the United States and has taught in one of our universities. Certain incisive passages in this book deserve quotation here. He says: "American publicists have not always realized, nor do all realize today, that critical attacks upon Great Britain arouse more resentment in Canada than they do in the country attacked." This suggests that Canada's resentment toward the United States concerning such matters as the Maine and Alaska boundaries, the Monroe Doctrine, tariffs and annexation talk, may be at least a subconscious factor in Canada's loyalty to the Crown. Yet it is undoubtedly true that "Canada boasts of loyalty to a European King, and neither officially nor unofficially acknowledges the Monroe Doctrine as applicable to herself. Yet if threatened with extreme and immediate danger, the Dominion would almost certainly invoke its protection. * * * It is probable that nothing but war between Great Britain and the United States can seriously affect the pacific intercourse of Canadians and Americans. * * * In the prevention of such a calamity it may well be that Canada will play the part of mediator and interpreter."

The Canadian is quite willing to regard the citizen of the United States as a cousin, but the Australian or the Newfoundlander is a first cousin, and the Briton is a double first cousin. The Crown is the symbol of all these things, and to it the Canadian owes reverence and loyalty.

The Disunited States of Europe

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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WHAT AN ALLURING caption is the title "The United States of Europe"! How skillfully it sets forth in five words the regeneration of mankind, suggesting the solution of the tremendous issues of the twentieth century and at the same time delicately alluding to the great and successful United States of the New World. It is undeniable that the chief republic of North America has solved, with reasonable success, the problem of reconciling vast areas and immense populations with a comparatively simple and understandable federal system. It is equally undeniable that since the fall of the Roman Empire nearly fifteen centuries ago the rich Continent of Europe, including the fountains of Western culture and Western government, has been broken up into warring units. Likewise, it is true that the so-called Holy Roman Empire in North Central Europe reconciled some of the jealousies and hostilities of a group of countries for nearly a thousand years. That combine distantly approached world government, which in past ages meant the government of Central and Southern Europe with the adjacent portions of Northern Africa and Western Asia. Yet the outcome of all the efforts at European unification was fiercer animosities, more terrible wars and the subdivision of large countries into smaller and hostile units.

The present agitation for European confederation on a great scale is subject to two inherent and stubborn difficulties. The first is the Asiatic complex. Anything approaching world confederation must take account of the two enormous aggregations of popu-

lation in India and China, which together include about half the human race. No world union is possible so long as this vast population might outvote the rest of the globe. The second difficulty is that, if the majestic idea of a vast federation is actually carried out in Europe, two of the most important units must be omitted. The first of them is Russia. Five-sixths of the population of that Soviet Union live west of the Ural Mountains, commonly considered the boundary between Europe and Asia. But Russia has put out creepers across Asia which are not compatible with membership in a European federation. To be sure, the Soviet Union is the strongest believer on the globe in international unification. The Russian idea, however, is not at all a world federation, but a world Soviet which, if the present government of Russia is an example, means a world dictatorship in the hands of the men who now rule the Soviet Union.

The other difficulty lies at the other geographical extreme of Europe—Great Britain. That country is already part of an empire which has many of the elements of confederation—a common official language, a common system of laws for people of European derivation, a coordination of large and small units. If Great Britain joins a European United States, will that bring into the system the Europeanized communities of Canada and Australia and South Africa and the other far-flung colonies dominated by Great Britain? On a basis of equal representation of population groups Great Britain and her dependencies would contribute to the world federation something like one-fourth of the popula-

tion, the greater part of which is not English. That is a great morsel for a union of countries in which, for example, Finland and Switzerland and Greece are to have in some respects an equal status with Great Britain. Furthermore, the question of foreign trade and tariffs is one in which the interests of Great Britain have for the last hundred years been very different from those of the other European countries.

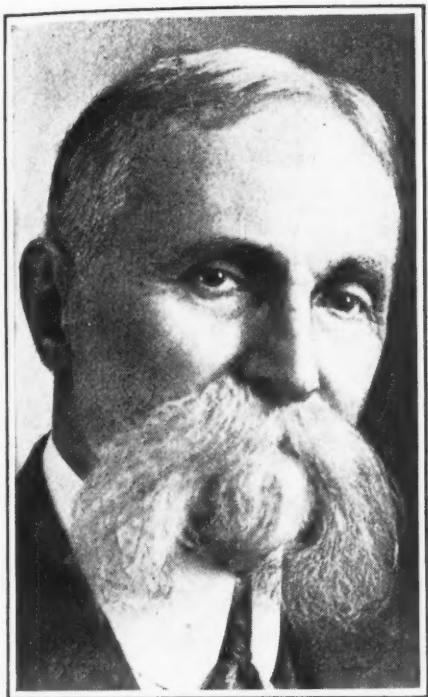
THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE

The present agitation for a universal or all-European United States must, therefore, take account only of the countries of Continental Europe. At the outset one must ignore the insoluble question of the relation of Russia to the combine. Leaving Russia and Great Britain out of account for the time being, let us ask, What is there in the make-up of Europe and in the economic interests of its constituent nations that would accord with the formation of a United States of Europe? The obvious example of such a federation is the United States of America, which has succeeded in maintaining for a century and a quarter a genuine, workable and triumphant federal government on a vast scale. The stock argument for a European federation is the success of the United States, which occupies an enormous territory and attracts as many racial elements as there are in Europe itself.

That success and its benefit to mankind have been magnificent and would prove the desirability of European federation if present conditions in Europe were similar to those under which our happy and glorious Union has been established. The United States of America is built on a foundation of antecedent Colonies, all springing from one service. The active population (excluding negro slaves) was made up about equally from the people of Great Britain and British dependencies and of their descendants. The only language used for public purposes was English. The legal, political and commercial basis of the Colonies was English.

How then did those Colonists achieve so un-English a type of government? Alongside the study of French political literature concerning the rights of man came a very curious strain of Continental statecraft. The chain of our federal documents begins with the Union of Utrecht, a Constitution adopted by the seven Dutch provinces in 1576 as the basis of a federation. That document was known and used by the draftsmen of the New England Confederation of 1643; a copy of it seems to have been in the hands of Benjamin Franklin when he drew up his Albany plan of Colonial union in 1754, and it certainly was in his hands when in 1776 he reported to the Continental Congress his plan of union. Not one of the original thirteen States which ratified the final Constitution, which is the bottom corner stone in the building up of the Federal Government, had been independent before the Revolution. Not one acted independently after the Revolution. The Federal Constitution of 1789 gave great powers to the Federal Government, but much less power than had been exercised over the Colonies by the previous royal government. From that time to the present every new State that has entered the Union has been organized by men who conceived no other type of national government. The Civil War was a test of the ability of that part of the nation that remained organized under the Constitution to prevent withdrawals which, if permitted, would have gone far to destroy the Federal Union altogether. To put it in a single sentence, the people of the United States have been federally minded from 1754 to 1929.

Federal government in Europe (outside little Switzerland) was moribund when Napoleon swept out the remnant of the Holy Roman Empire and consolidated many small units into larger States. The French Empire was for a few years a kind of forced union of related countries. Then came the smash, and Europe was recast into sovereign States. Some composite States developed up to the time of the World War



ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

of 1914. Nor is any movement now visible for uniting closely related countries such as Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland or the little Baltic republics or the three South Slav States of the Balkans. The only conspicuous federation in Europe is Switzerland, and the Swiss hesitate to entrust their destiny to a larger federation.

EUROPEAN CONFEDERATIONS

Austria, itself a composite of States and cities many of which had been members of the old Roman Empire, by military force brought Hungary and some adjacent territories into subjection to the main State. In all the maelstrom of literature on the causes of the war of 1914 we get away from the direct and immediate cause, which was the attempt of the Serbians to drive a wedge into that comprehensive but artificial empire and rescue their fellow-Slavs who lived within the boundaries of Austria-Hungary. In the interval real

federation began with the North German Confederation of 1867 and the German Empire of 1871. The little States of Northern and Central Germany were welded into an empire which was a genuine and successful United States in Europe, but not of Europe. The only genuine international unions in Europe in 1914 were the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, whose history is not that of genuine European union. The present German Republic is more centralized than the previous empire. Certainly the tension between European nations is at present too strong for any kind of real European union.

As the visitor moves through Europe, particularly Eastern Europe, he is struck by the present bitterness of feeling between neighboring countries, particularly if formerly united. Poland is looked upon by Russia as a renegade escaped from Russian rule and by Germany as a thief for taking a piece out of Prussia. Czechoslovakia includes a considerable number of German-speaking inhabitants who believe that they are placed in a position of inferiority. A lively racial pulling and hauling goes on inside Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece. What would be the consequences if all these discontented peoples were entitled to appeal to a federal government for protection which, they assert, their own governments deny them? If Rumania cannot govern herself now, how will she receive federal control from outside? Race consciousness and race arrogance are inescapable.

On this point the experience of the United States throws little light, because there is no antagonism of the various races, no century-old racial bitterness. The English language was established before the immigrants of non-English races appeared. General English law was here. The commercial system was substantially the same in all the Colonies that became States. Nobody in the country today wants a different language or a different type of education or (excepting the extreme

Socialists) a different type of political institutions. In every European country there is a racial or sectional contest going on. On this side of the Atlantic every commercial and manufacturing State is also in part agricultural. Our rivalries between Eastern and Western communities do not divide the Union. In Europe, on the other hand, some countries are predominantly agricultural, such as Rumania; or predominantly manufacturing, as Belgium; or predominantly commercial, as Sweden. When we see the discouragement of patriotic and hard-headed European statesmen in the effort to induce their countrymen to come to an amicable understanding on internal matters, the difficulty of securing common action between the Continental nations is enormous.

Even more serious is the difficulty that so large a part of Europe is in the hands of self-designated dictators. With all the talk about the Bayard dynasty in Delaware and the Standard Oil government of West Virginia, every State in the Union has a democratic form of government which can be altered without revolution if the voters so please. Experience has shown that even Chicago can send its statesmen to prison if the people of the city desire it. Quite different is Europe, where at this moment a personal dictator exercises his will over any statutes and any constitution and any attempt at peaceful amendment—in Poland, in Turkey (which still has a small territorial interest in Europe), in Italy, in Spain, in Yugoslavia, in Albania and possibly in Hungary. No federation can possibly be founded or continued unless the representatives of the various States actually spring from the will of the people of the State. It is not to be supposed that the dictator at home will send uninstructed delegates to a congress of the United States of Europe. The inevitable and immediate result of federation would be a demand by oppressed minorities or oppressed nations for relief at the hand of the federal government from the self-appointed and uncontrolled dictators of

their respective countries. Of course nobody proposes that a European federation shall make local laws for the member States or assume responsibility for their internal good government.

REPRESENTATION PROBLEM

Nevertheless, Europe is hampered by vital governmental problems from which the American States are practically free. In the first line comes the question of proportional representation. It is true that in the United States Delaware's population of 223,000 and New York's of 10,385,000 each send two Senators to Washington; but Delaware and Nevada are the only two States with very small population; while in Europe there is an outfit of statelets which would be a bee in the bonnet of a federation. Such are Andorra, with 5,000 inhabitants (every citizen a soldier, only there has been no war for 800 years); Liechtenstein, with 12,000 people who want to be Swiss; Monaco, with eight square miles, 22,000 people and no national industry except gambling; San Marino, with 12,000 people and the right to print postage stamps; Luxemburg, with 999 square miles and 285,000 people. Compare the 220,000 of little Delaware, our smallest State unit; our District of Columbia contains 540,000 people; Rhode Island is densely populated with 700,000, and Nevada has 80,000. Under European federation these midget States might be forcibly incorporated into their next-door neighbors, the States that now protect them, but never with their own consent, though they are too petty to make a big outcry. In addition, nine other independent European States possess populations running from 800,000 to 4,000,000, namely, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Switzerland, and the remnant of Turkey in Europe.

The problem of representation has been solved in the League of Nations by giving to the representatives of every nation in the Assembly one vote, and the League addicts who urge European federation point to this experiment. In practice the difficulty is real-

ly solved by entrusting to the Assembly no question which might set nations by the ears, so that no far-reaching decisions have ever been made by that body. Some important decisions have been made by the Council, in which the five permanent members are France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, together with nine non-permanent members from countries as small as Cuba and Rumania; but even the Council has never adjusted the most serious questions that have come before the League. The Corfu dispute between Italy and Greece, for example, was settled by a Council of Ambassadors, which, technically, is not a part of the League of Nations. Nobody has yet suggested a more practicable organization for a League of Nations.

A strict population basis would not work. Allowing one representative for every million of the 480,000,000 people on the Continent of Europe, France would have forty-one and Albania one. A combination of a few large States could always outvote the rest of the union. A genuine United States of Europe, founded on the successful American model, would presumably establish two legislative houses. If each nation should have one vote in the upper house, Germany, France, Italy, Poland and Spain combined could always be outvoted by a group of States with an aggregate population of less than 2,000,000. It would be the tail wagging the dog. The number of small States in the upper house would be far greater than is possible in the United States Senate.

The question of official languages must also come up, and that is a point on which the small nations are insistent. German, French, Spanish, Italian and Polish are the languages spoken by

the largest numbers of individuals. Presumably, Hungarians and Bulgarians and Latvians, if they wished to influence their colleagues, would have to address the houses in some language that is not understood in their own bailiwick.

These fundamental difficulties of organization might be overcome if the small nations could see great advantages in the new system. The present urge is chiefly the result of international commercial difficulties. It is a suggestive fact that the foundation of the German Empire was laid about 1840 in mutual tariff treaties between the small German States under the leadership of Prussia before any provision had been made for the machinery of a federation. Eventually, many of those little States were absorbed by Prussia. Could those questions of commercial intercourse be placed for all Europe in the hands of a legislature? There is a safer method. If the different nations of Europe sufficiently desire to unify the manufacturing and distribution systems of the Continent, they can do so by treaties which would have an opportunity to grow without being crystallized into a constitution. The difficulties in the way of a uniform tariff system, however limited, are very great. Every country (even the smallest) desires to establish domestic manufactures and give them a monopoly of the home market, and at the same time gain access to the markets of other countries. To arrive at a common basis for a universal commercial treaty administered by a general European machinery seems beyond the compass of European statesmen. Yet we are told to expect some form of confederation, economic or general, which will find means to satisfy all Europe.

Britain's Perils in the New Egyptian Treaty

By THOMAS GREENWOOD

LECTURER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON; FORMER EDITOR, *Europress*, VIENNA

A VERY important question will come before the British Parliament next session: the draft treaty which was discussed between Mr. Henderson, head of the Foreign Office, and Mahmud Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt. The interest of this treaty, which implies fundamental changes in the relations between Great Britain and Egypt, goes, however, beyond the horizon of our imperial policy, because Egypt, according to the proposed settlement, would be able to become a member of the League of Nations—an event which would place the Anglo-Egyptian question in the international forum.

The text of the proposals for an Anglo-Egyptian settlement issued by the Foreign Office, contains the following main points: (1) The military occupation of Egypt by British forces is terminated, but troops are to occupy localities bordering the Suez Canal; (2) An alliance is established between the two countries, with cooperation in foreign policy and mutual assistance in case of war; (3) Egyptian legislation is to be applied to foreigners, and the jurisdiction of the Consular Courts is to be transferred to the mixed tribunals; (4) The status of the Sudan remains as under the 1899 convention, and a battalion of Egyptian troops is to return to the Sudan; (5) Ambassadors are to be exchanged, and Great Britain is to support Egypt's entry into the League of Nations.

In spite of Mr. Henderson's denial of any change in our Egyptian policy, there is, however, a wide divergence

between these proposals and the guiding principles of our policy in Egypt, as stated in the declaration of 1922, which reserved to the absolute discretion of his Majesty's Government these four points: (a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt; (b) The defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect; (c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities; (d) The Sudan. It is true that these matters were reserved to the British Government "until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto" between the two parties. Apparently the Labor Cabinet has considered that the time for such a "friendly accommodation" has arrived, as evidenced by its generous answer to the telegram of "greetings of the most ancient civilized country to the most ancient parliamentary country" sent by Nahas Pasha, the Wafd leader, to the Labor Administration on its appointment, which voiced an appeal of the Egyptian nationalists against the undemocratic conditions of their country.

One should not believe, however, that political ethics prompted the Labor Government to adopt its present attitude with regard to Egypt. For as soon as the Labor party could frame a policy of its own at the conference of Scarborough in 1920, a resolution was moved by George Lansbury—then editor of *The Daily Herald*, now a Cabinet Minister as First Commissioner of

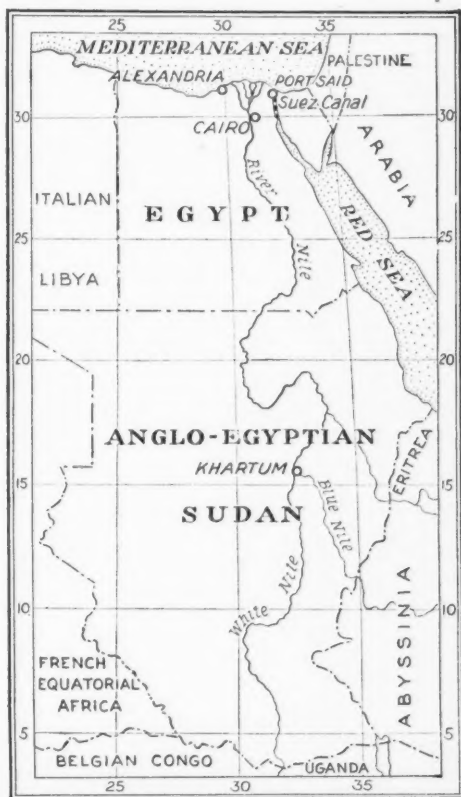
Works—to the effect that British action in Egypt, “whether for the protection of the Suez Canal, the administration of the Sudan or otherwise, must be limited to that to which the responsible National Government of Egypt may fully give its consent.” The policy outlined in the Scarborough resolution inspired all the subsequent declarations of the Labor party about Egypt. And the recent administrative crisis in Egypt gave the Labor Government the opportunity of coming out in its true colors.

One of the first acts of Mr. Henderson on taking over the Foreign Office was to initiate private conversations with Mahmud Pasha, who was then in London. As soon as an agreement was arrived at, we heard of the dramatic resignation of the High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, just before Parliament adjourned. During the debate in the House of Commons Mr. Henderson said that, on consulting the records at the Foreign Office, he had been struck by the divergences of view between his predecessor, Sir Austen Chamberlain, and Lord Lloyd. In 1926, for instance, Lord Lloyd had wished to prevent Zaghlul Pasha from becoming Prime Minister, but Sir Austen Chamberlain had been for non-intervention. In 1927 there had been disagreement over the army crisis, and in 1928 over the assemblies bill. These and other cases, according to Mr. Henderson, showed that Sir Austen Chamberlain's policy of non-interference in internal affairs and a liberal interpretation of the declaration of 1922 had not met with Lord Lloyd's sympathy. The Labor Government's policy would not have been less liberal; and it therefore felt it necessary to intimate to Lord Lloyd that it was dissatisfied with the position that had obtained during the previous three or four years. But if there were previously any differences between the High Commissioner and the Foreign Secretary, these ought to be considered merely as a natural result of intercourse between government and agent; for, after all, a High Commissioner, in his opinions at least, must

have a large amount of independence. It is to be regretted, then, that the Labor Government made the mistake of refusing to profit by the superior knowledge of “the man on the spot,” although Lord Lloyd, like Cromer and Kitchener, knew Egypt, the people, their language and their mentality.

EGYPTIAN NATIONALISTS' AGITATION

Indeed, the decision of the government could not be based on the local situation in Egypt. Out of a population of 15,000,000 there are over 12,000,000 illiterate peasants—strong, healthy, industrious men and women, who have no interest in politics, which they cannot understand. All they wish is peace and tranquillity, to live their own lives and cultivate their land. But, unfortunately, the mass of the population is dominated politically by the Wafd, the ultra-nationalist organization whose propa-



Map of Egypt and the Sudan

ganda is based on religious fanaticism, hatred of the foreigners and intimidation. The whole land is permeated by the emissaries of this institution, many of them of Turkish or Arab origin, who keep the fellaheen, the true Egyptians, under espionage and threat; while they demand from the native merchants constant contributions for their political demonstrations, under threat that if their demands are not met, and that if the merchants do not close their business premises when the Wafd organizes its political demonstrations, their places will be looted or burned by hooligans.

When such methods are used while a British army occupies Egypt, what would become of the country if we abandoned its people to the clutches of the Wafd leaders and supporters, who long for full freedom to squeeze the blood out of the fellaheen? History would repeat itself; and the country would soon turn to the condition prevailing under the Pasha rule, inaugurated a century ago by Mohammed Ali, when the mass of the Egyptian fellaheen had to perform forced labor under the lash, were driven into the army by the same persuasive methods and were taxed until left with nothing but the barest subsistence. And the tradition of the exploitation of the native population by the hereditary foreign ruling Pashas is still in honor in the land of the Pharaohs, though it had to be adapted to actual circumstances.

The trouble with the Egyptian Nationalists is that they use their abilities and the knowledge which they ac-

quire as students in Europe or in European institutions in their country for their political ends and private interests. Their first care is not the development and progress of the population and the land but the stirring up of

the peasants against British rule. They pretend to fight for the democratic ideas which should enable them to organize their country on a Western pattern; but they would forget them and return to their Eastern traditions as soon as the British are out and as soon as they have a free hand in the country. Justice, finance, health, education and public works are slowly progressing in Egypt under the aegis of an expert team of British administrators. But the Egyptians are not yet ripe to take over these responsible social duties. It may take a short time to shape and enact laws;

but it takes a very long time to form administrators with knowledge, experience and a sense of duty. This is so true that, under the new proposals, the Egyptian Government, in order to secure the satisfactory completion of its extensive program of internal reforms, agrees to entrust British subjects with the post of Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government and Judicial Adviser to the Ministry of Justice, and employ British subjects when engaging the services of foreign officials.

But if the British officials in Egypt would provide a safeguard to a certain extent, the seriousness of the changes in the judicial system of Egypt is too great to be overlooked. In proclaiming that the "spirit of the times" and the



Associated Press

FUAD I

King of Egypt, who succeeded his brother, Hussein Kamil, as Sultan, in 1917. When Egypt's independence was proclaimed in 1922, Fuad became King



Acme

SIR PERCY LORAINE

Appointed to succeed Lord Lloyd as British High Commissioner in Egypt

"present state of Egypt" clash with the capitulatory régime now existing, the Labor Government promises to use all its influence with the powers possessing capitulatory rights in Egypt to obtain the transfer of the jurisdiction of the existing consular courts to the mixed tribunals and the application of Egyptian legislation to foreigners. In plain words, this means the abrogation of the capitulations, by which foreigners in Egypt retain the protection of the judicial system of their respective countries. The "spirit of the times," however, does not agree with the real situation in Egypt. Although the Egyptian Government promises to undertake the preparation and promulgation of a new code of criminal procedure and the revision of the existing fiscal legislation, it would not go as far as to secularize Egypt's Moham-

medan legal system, as Mustapha Kemal Pasha did in Turkey. Besides, it is not only a question of written laws but also and mainly of persons entrusted with the interpretation and the application of the law. Unfortunately corruption prevails in the legal profession in Egypt, not only in the native courts but also in many cases tried before mixed courts.

The powers possessing capitulatory rights in Egypt know well this situation and would hardly regard the change with pleased anticipation. Through their statesmen and their newspapers they show themselves to be fully aware of the danger which the British Government feigns to overlook. And the danger is the greater if taken in connection with the proposed abolition of the European police and the withdrawal of all British troops to the canal zone. It means the 206,000



Underwood

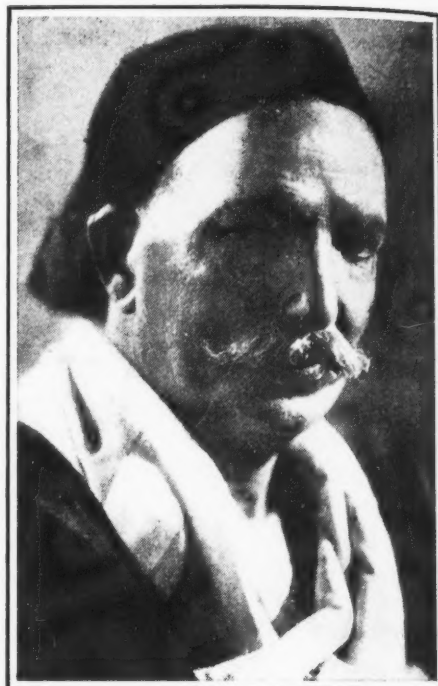
MOHAMMED MAHMUD PASHA

Former Prime Minister of Egypt and virtual dictator for more than a year. His resignation on Oct. 2 would, it was thought, facilitate the ratification of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty

foreign residents in Egypt would have to look to Arab or Egyptian police for their protection—a very doubtful protection in a country prone to fanatical outbursts. I remember that during the riots in Alexandria, when isolated British civilians and officers were murdered, when traveling by road and by rail was unsafe, and when infuriated Arab and fellah hooligans, in their long, white, flowing tunics, milled through the streets, the native police were powerless to cope with the threatening mobs.

No amount of training moreover would override the religious feelings of the native police, who would always have their sympathy with the Moslem element against the Christian population in Egypt should the natives manifest their feelings against Great Britain in the event of trouble in Moslem countries like India, Iraq or Palestine, placed under British rule. During the recent outbreak in Palestine the first expression of gratitude to Great Britain of the Egyptian Nationalists was to issue proclamations and protests against Britain's effort to restore peace in the Holy Land. It is obvious, therefore, that in case of trouble in the big cities like Cairo, Tintah or Alexandria, much harm and destruction would be wrought—as experience has shown in Palestine—before British troops from the canal could be rushed to the towns. What would Great Britain do, for instance, if, during a possible outbreak in Egypt, Signor Mussolini or the French Government should decide to protect their thousands of nationals in Egypt?

If we turn to the imperial aspects of the problem, there is no doubt that the mere announcement of the weakening of our hold over Egypt has adversely affected our prestige in the Near East. The generosity of the Labor Government may be considered, of course, as the fulfillment of Great Britain's promises to evacuate Egypt as soon as the Egyptian nations reached that standard of discipline and citizenship which makes true democratic government possible. But our occupation of Egypt,



Underwood

PASHA EL BASSAL

Chief of the Bedouin tribes in Egypt

which at its inception had a purely economic and administrative object, acquired a definitely political character as soon as the strategic importance of the Suez Canal was fully appreciated. Thenceforward the protection of the canal became the all-important concern of our policy in Egypt. The shortest route to India and Australia lay through the canal, and on no account could its defense be left to another power.

It does not seem wise, therefore, to terminate the military occupation of Egypt by British forces and to transfer troops to localities bordering the Suez Canal. The first question to consider here is not the comfort of the troops, which would not be enviable in their new headquarters, but rather the military security of these troops. The campaigns of 1882 against Arabia's rising, of 1896 against the Mahdi's fanatic tribesmen, and of 1915, when the Turks, under Liman von Sanders, attempted a

hopeless attack on the canal, have shown that no strategic or tactical movements can be performed in Egypt without the occupation of Cairo. The lines of communication and, above all, the supplies of fresh water for the canal troops, would not be under their control. What would be their position if they were faced one day with a general Arab rising from both sides of the canal with the Egyptian Army—which is trained by the British—and the whole country against them? The proposed alliance between Great Britain and Egypt would be of little help in a possible crisis, as was shown by the experience we had with the Khedive at the outbreak of the World War. No wonder, then, that the attitude of the Dominions toward the draft Egyptian treaty is one of apprehension and distrust. The Dominions in general demand the absolute protection of the Suez Canal and fail to see the reasons for the Labor Government's hurry, which has virtually committed the Empire to a debatable policy without time for adequate consultations.

SPECIAL PROBLEM OF SUDAN

Then there is the question of the Sudan, where an Egyptian battalion is to return, though its status is to remain as under the 1899 convention (Egyptian troops were removed from the Sudan as a penalty for the murder of the Sirdar, Sir Lee Stack). Egyptian nationalists are not satisfied with this solution, and claim an undivided sovereignty over the Sudan. But the Sudan is not a part of Egypt; and if the nationalists claim it by right of Mohamed Ali's conquest, why should not Great Britain have similar claims after the expeditions of Hicks Pasha in 1883, the tragic adventure of General Gordon in 1885, and the victorious campaigns of Kitchener in 1896-98? Today the Sudan means for us the nucleus of a large empire which we are slowly creating in Central and Eastern Africa. If the Labor Government meant to give concessions to the Egyptians, why did they not claim in return a concession with regard to the Sudan? A large sec-

tion of the Sudanese population, who have a strong feeling against the Egyptians, would have supported them. Instead of this, they allow a portion of the Egyptian army to return to the Sudan, and even surrender to Egypt our lines of communications by land and air between the Mediterranean and the Sudan, British Central and East Africa. The fate of these prosperous regions would be doomed if by chance we were faced with a situation similar to the Mahdi's fanatical rising and the Khalfa's murderous rule. The League of Nations, of which Egypt would be a member, could not help us at all in these difficult hours, for there would be a contradiction between Egypt's situation and prerogatives as a member of the League and the conditions of its alliance and relations with Great Britain.

The more one analyzes the terms of the draft settlement with Egypt, the stronger is one's impression that the Labor Government could not have been sincere in its proposals, and wanted merely to score a political success among its followers at home. Besides, it will soon be realized that if a general election in Egypt should return the Wafd party to power, the Egyptian Parliament would have nothing to do with a treaty bearing what it supposes to be a foreign taint, and negotiated by Mohamed Mahmud Pasha, whom it considers as a traitor.

It is true that the provisional and temporary character of the British intervention in Egypt was affirmed at the time of the occupation, and constantly reaffirmed by responsible British statesmen. In the meantime Egypt has progressed remarkably. Fifty years of ordered government have carried the country a long way on the path of political evolution. We should not wreck this progress by hasty measures, which seem, on paper, to shower the blessings of freedom on the Egyptian nation, but which, in reality, mean the weakening of our own independence and of the peaceful development of the British Commonwealth.

LONDON, England.

Chicago, the Phenomenal City

By ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

FACULTY OF CHICAGO UNIVERSITY; EDITORIAL STAFF, *The New Republic*

CHICAGO is the most immediately exciting, instructive and generally noteworthy example of the phenomenon of civilization known as the modern city. This is due, in part, to its rapid growth, the concentration of its history within a hundred years. It is owing to the extraordinary difficulties and problems which it has had to meet, and to solve so rapidly, in its progress from a frontier outpost to a metropolis where literally all the races of the world have their place and habitation. It is again owing to the immense force of human energy released as the result of the geographical situation of the city with its opportunities for economic and cultural leadership, and the necessity of grasping them quickly in the face of acute rivalry, the result also, perhaps, of the mixture, biological and social, of races and the union of cultures. This energy has been directed to ends both noble and mean. On the one hand, we have an unexampled exhibition of devotion to public good, taking form in orchestra, art institute, universities, museums, parks, representing enormous outlays of money and time; and, on the other, the most shameless exploitation of the public for private profit, of which the present crime wave is a spectacular instance.

With all its contradictions and diversities, Chicago retains a sort of unity; it has a personality and character of its own, which it stamps upon events and enterprises. And it has a genius for publicity. Publicity was the device through which it gathered credit in the world and confidence in itself by means of which it forged its way, overcoming inherent difficulties and accidental

misfortunes, and setting forward its great enterprises, private and public. It may be that in the clear, burnished atmosphere of the lake, against the wide horizon of the prairie, all things assume a grandiose, exaggerated form; and in the face of the great winds that blow from the West, the human proclamation of these things becomes shrill and strident. At all events, whatever happens in Chicago takes on at once a superlative quality dear to journalism. It is the greatest occurrence of its kind, whether political convention, conflagration, world's fair, race riot, crime wave or explosion of municipal corruption and reform. Chicago has, by its own account, the world's greatest newspaper, stock yards, retail store and mail-order house; greatest assembly of races, the most complicated municipal government, the most ambitious plan for the city beautiful, the worst Mayor and the best philanthropist, the most complete alignment of business and of crime; and it had the first juvenile court, small park and playground, investigation of vice and successful organization of labor. These things have the stamp of Chicago upon them, and, with the sounding board of Chicago behind them, they are of interest and significance to the world. It is not surprising that so shrewd a journalist as W. T. Stead invited Christ to come to Chicago rather than to London or New York.

Like Stead, Messrs. Henry Justin Smith and Lloyd Lewis, in their recent book, *Chicago: The History of Its Reputation* (Harcourt, Brace & Co.), recognize the fact that whatever is done in Chicago becomes of world-wide interest, and contributes to the

good or ill fame of the city. The book is in reality a history of the city, and a character sketch, skillfully drawn in recognition of the physical properties belonging to it by location and the civic personality imparted by its citizens. Chicago stands at the meeting place of East and West. At the lower end of Lake Michigan it is at the extreme point of the natural system of waterways stretching across the continent through the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and it is separated by a few miles and the lowest of watersheds from the system which from the headwaters of the Missouri to the mouth of the Mississippi covers the whole interior plain of the Middle West and South. Immigration from the East took advantage of the water haul across Lake Michigan, and found the Chicago River a convenient harbor and place of transshipment and distribution. Some of the immigrants were impressed by the economic possibilities of the situation, stayed and became fanatical propagandists for the city of their vision, among them Deacon Bross, one of the founders of the *Chicago Tribune*, and John Stephen Wright, the original "booster," though at that time they did not have the word.

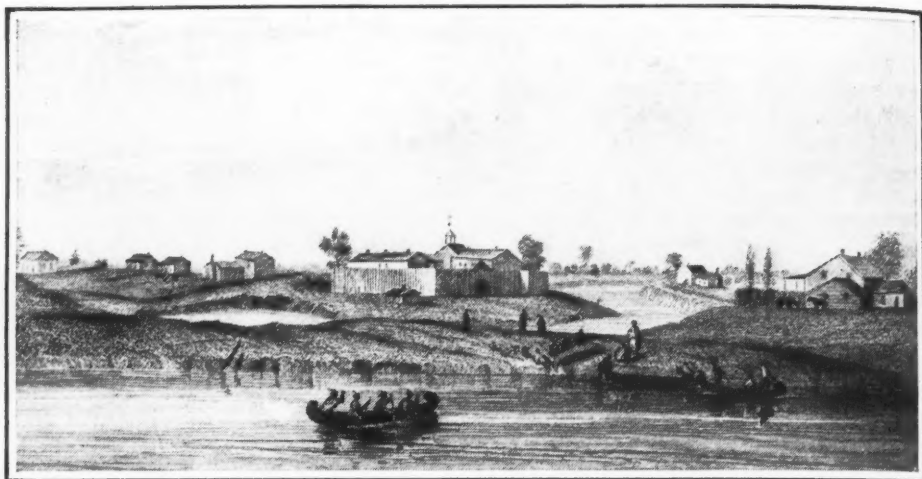
From the outset Chicago was obsessed by the idea of a canal cutting through the watershed and connecting the lake with the Mississippi, by which ocean-borne commerce should reach the city docks from the Gulf of Mexico. Pending such realization, however, there were the railroads. Railroads are artificial products, and Chicago's natural advantages of position might not have availed her much without the energy of her citizens. It was William B. Ogden, her first capitalist, who took the lead in bringing to Chicago the great trunk lines from the East, and in throwing out toward the West and South the pioneer tracks which later became the Burlington, the Atchison, the Northwestern, the St. Paul, the Rock Island, and the Illinois Central. The railroads made Chicago. They brought the great manufacturing and distributing industries, each of which

became a fief with overlords and vassals, the stock yards under Armour and Swift, agricultural machinery under McCormick, railroad cars under Pullman, dry goods under Marshall Field, groceries under MacVeagh and the Spragues, and hats under Edson Keith. No other city in the United States can show such a group as this, compact of pioneering energy and productive intelligence. One reason for the unity of Chicago in and above its diversity is the domination of these men and their fellows in the years of its growth. They were known of all men, and their names were in all men's mouths. They have their successors. The machinery for the distribution of goods by mail, developed by Julius Rosenwald, and of electrical power by Samuel Insull, testify to the fact that the conception of business in Chicago is still imperial.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP EFFORT

This development of industrial and business enterprise through the energy of the pioneers has had a superb flowering in their munificence toward the city which they built. Mr. Lewis quotes a note from the *Missouri Republican* which tells the story: "Whenever anything is to be done for the good of Chicago, somebody is found to do it." And here is a noteworthy difference between Chicago and New York. The institutions of the latter, the Metropolitan, Columbia, the Museum of Natural History, the Philharmonic, have grown slowly and, so to speak, impersonally. In Chicago institutions and names are inseparably linked, the orchestra with Theodore Thomas, the art institute with Charles L. Hutchinson and Martin A. Ryerson, the great museum of natural and human history with Marshall Field, the industrial museum with Julius Rosenwald, the opera with Samuel Insull, Hull House with Jane Addams, the University of Chicago with President Harper.

The sense of unity, of intimacy, which has often caused Chicago to be compared to an overgrown village, is sustained by the personal element,



Courtesy New York Public Library

CHICAGO IN 1820

American and Indian traders congregated at Fort Dearborn

which is the most attractive phase of its history. Its prodigious development has taken place largely by means of individual initiative bringing pressure to bear through civic organizations. In the early days the immediate evil to be attacked was the swamp. The city was built on a loose deposit beneath the old lake shore, which turned to mud with every rain. The first attempt to make the city passable was by the wooden sidewalks, which at various levels skirted the houses, giving a grotesque appearance often commented upon by cynical visitors. The city had eventually to raise its level by filling in, to drain its foundations, to canalize its river. Drainage was secured by turning the river backward and a water supply by building pumping stations far out in the lake. But, though Chicago has been able to get pure water, it has been balked of its desire for pure air. The smoke nuisance remains intolerable. To this, the railroads, whose coming had meant so much to the city, contribute mightily; and they were, moreover, the occasion of a physical deformity which still exists. The lake front on the South Side is occupied for some miles by the Illinois Central, and the lines which enter the city from the east make a hideous wound on the

South Side, where their rights of way, crossing and recrossing in a gigantic railroad yard, interrupt streets and condemn areas near the heart of the city to semi-isolation. The lake front is being recovered. The present period in the history of Chicago began when it turned its face to the lake, at the time of the World's Fair in 1893. The next fair in 1933 will see south of the river, and beyond the right of way of the Illinois Central, a system of gardens, lagoons, bathing beaches and parkways such as no city in the country can show. The wide outer boulevards will enable automobiles, unhampered by traffic signals, to reach the city from Hyde Park, some seven miles to the south, in fifteen minutes.

CITY GOVERNMENT IMPORTANT

In these advances the efforts of individuals and groups have counted most, while the city in its corporate capacity has played a comparatively small part, and not always an edifying one. The city government is the theme of Professor Merriam's book *Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* (Macmillan, 1929). Much that Professor Merriam has to say is true of all large American cities, but certain things are peculiar to Chicago and

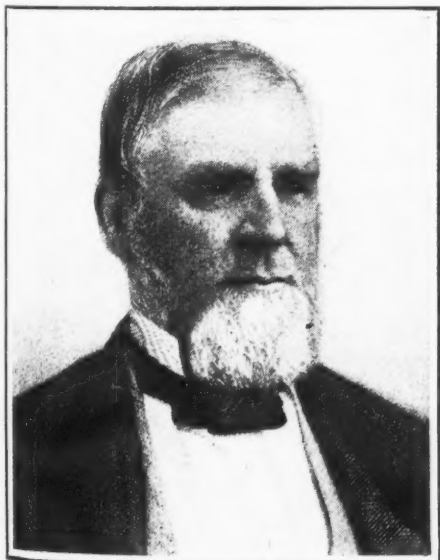
account for the impotence of municipal government there. In the first place, the city is intolerably hampered by the suzerainty of the State of Illinois, of which it contains nearly half the inhabitants. Needless to say, they are deprived of their due representation in the State Legislature, which enacts laws with special reference to them. Every battle for good government has to be fought twice, once in the Chicago City Council and again at Springfield. Home rule is the political goal of the city comparable to its physical demand for deep waterways, and apparently as far from realization. As the result of this domination of the State, the governmental system of Chicago and Cook County is thoroughly anomalous, a kind of patchwork of governing bodies, some surviving from the days before various towns were annexed to the city, some like the park boards, created *ad hoc* to meet a new situation. Mr. Merriam enumerates eight principal governments and twenty-five minor ones in Chicago; and in the metropolitan area within a radius of fifty miles from State and Madison Streets, not fewer than 1,673 governing bodies, exclusive of the national, direct the destinies of

4,000,000 people. No wonder that "formal government is chaos."

CONFUSION OF RACES

One element of the complex situation of Chicago is the confusion of races. The first settlers were New Englanders, who gave to the city a social leadership which has never been shaken. Then came Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, Italians, Poles, Czechs, Greeks, South Slavs, and, finally, negroes and Mexicans. Today two-thirds of the population are foreign-born or of foreign parentage, and there are 200,000 negroes. On the whole, the city has been tolerant of these successive waves of immigrants, recognizing that they brought physical strength to its industries and interesting elements to its culture. The New England leadership of old families has admitted distinguished members of other races to its circle. On occasions, when the foreign-born workers were subject to exploitation by native industries, a considerable body of support in articulate public opinion was forthcoming. An exception to this tolerance must be recorded in the case of the negro, but this exception is not peculiar to Chicago. Miss Addams tells of calling a conference at Hull House to discuss the murder of a negro boy by a gang of young Italians. When she pointed out that there had never been any antagonism between the two races, an Italian doctor remarked gently: "But, Miss Addams, you must understand that our people are becoming Americanized."

The diversity of races does not destroy the sense of unity in the city, perhaps because their cultures yield rather quickly to the native. Racial diversity does, indeed, contribute to the difficulty of political control, as do the ordinary differences among men on religious or moral grounds which seem, for the time, more important than the issue of good government. Undoubtedly one special reason for the intolerance with which the negroes are regarded is their political solidarity. Much more is heard of the negro vote in Chicago than of the German, or Irish, or Polish. The



WILLIAM B. OGDEN
Elected first Mayor of Chicago in 1837

negroes control two wards in the interest of Mayor Thompson. They hold the balance of power in the city. They have sent the only negro Representative to the present Congress. They are race conscious and aggressive. When a negro boy was forced by wind and current toward a bathing beach set apart for whites, and was promptly stoned away to his death, his brothers in race took up his cause and precipitated one of the worst race riots since the Civil War. The negroes got the worst of it, but no one dreams that the feud is forgotten.

Crime is the spectacular feature of Chicago life today, a feature not peculiar to the city, but one presenting certain characteristics which are not found elsewhere, at least in the same degree. These enable E. D. Sullivan to tell a lively story in his book, *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime* (Vanguard Press). A voluminous report of an investigation by experts of the Chicago Crime Commission bears out Mr. Sulli-

van's tale in notable particulars. The subject has also furnished material for several popular plays of the last two or three seasons, such as *The Racket*, *Chicago* and *The Front Page*. These plays (and *Rattling the Cup*) are by journalists, and reflect the journalistic spirit which has always been rampant in Chicago from earliest days. And journalism undoubtedly gives a false impression of the time and attention which the Chicagoan gives to crime, the part which it plays in his life and the extent to which he is exposed to its violent manifestations. For instance, one might infer that Chicago wives generally killed their husbands and were triumphantly acquitted by adulterous juries, but the Crime Commission report says that in 1927 four times as many Chicago wives were killed by husbands as the other way around. The only trouble is that wife murder is too common to be news.

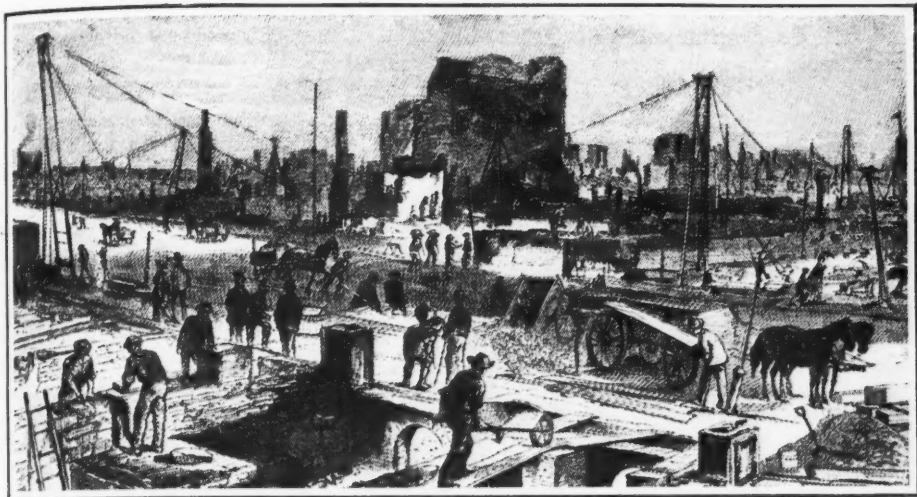
The legitimate interest of a study of Chicago crime is in discovering how far



Courtesy Kennedy & Co.

THE GREAT CHICAGO FIRE

From a contemporary print by Currier & Ives. The fire, which began on Oct. 9, 1871, and lasted two days, destroyed 18,000 buildings and caused \$196,000,000 damage. It was supposed to have started when Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a lantern



REBUILDING CHICAGO

The corner of Lake and La Salle Streets as it looked after the great fire. From a contemporary drawing in *Harper's Weekly* for Nov. 11, 1871

it reflects the character of the city. As Professor Merriam says: "The public does not will the underworld, but the underworld reflects certain attitudes, or, if we choose to call them so, the moods of the great god Demos in a modern city like Chicago." Among these attitudes is respect for personality and leadership. As in the great underworld Field, Palmer, McCormick, Yerkes, Armour and Pullman were brilliant figures, so in the underworld we have a succession of chieftains whose briefer rule Mr. Sullivan chronicles for us: Johnny Torrio, Dion O'Banton, Hymie Weiss, Bugs Moran, Diamond Joe Esposito, Scarface Al Capone. These leaders all belong to the period since prohibition made a great business criminal. The business has gone on in all cities, but in Chicago it has been organized on a large scale on the basis of the three sides, North, South and West, and, as in the case of divisions of territory among other big industries, there have been gentlemen's agreements, broken engagements, invasions, wars. But in Chicago, as nowhere else, the leaders become known to the public, in the days of their power, and their goings and comings are news. And again Chicago criminals, like higher-ups, seem to have a healthy appetite for publicity

and usually are ready to oblige by staging a murder within a block of "the busiest corner in the world," where State Street meets Madison.

Naturally journalism loves crime as it does war, the sources of the greatest stories and of the most salable news. And the public gets a thrill from criminals as from heroes. If this is more evident in Chicago than elsewhere, it is because the city is a bit more naïve and frank than New York, and more likely to be swayed by a mass emotion. The case of Martin Durkin some three years ago is illuminating. Martin was a bootlegger and shot a policeman whom he thought was a hijacker. He fled, returned to visit a girl and was nearly captured, got away again, paused in his flight down State to marry a different girl, with whom he toured to the Pacific Coast. He was finally arrested in St. Louis on a liquor charge and brought to Chicago with his bride. On the way the party stopped to gather in the girl's father and mother at the instance of newspaper men who saw how the aged pair would complete the picture. With all these elements of romance in his story Martin could not fail to appeal. His arrival at the Pennsylvania Station was an ovation, and when the scene was reproduced in moving pictures the

crowds cheered him and booed the police until the films were suppressed.

DRAMATIC PHASE OF CRIME PROTECTION

But these are lighter aspects of crime. More serious are its relations with business and with politics, which are curiously interwoven. The complexity of Chicago's government makes the political trail of business difficult to follow and gives a large immunity to crime. Business is in politics distinctly for its health and political control is secured by the intervention of strong-arm methods at the polls, slugging, kidnapping, murder. Moreover, especially since prohibition, crime is in business for itself and must deal with government for protection. These statements apply to urban communities in general, but, as in other matters, Chicago tends to carry a situation further, to offer extreme examples of it and give them a dramatic character. Never was the connection between government and crime more in evidence than in Cook County under State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe. Some three years ago his assistant, William McSwiggin, was killed by machine gun fire while riding with two gangsters, one of whom he had prosecuted for murder—unsuccessfully. The substantial fact was clear enough, but grand juries piloted by Mr. Crowe got nowhere with the details. At the primary election of 1928 Morris Eller, City Collector, and his son Emanuel, a municipal judge, carried their ward by methods which involved the death of an opposition candidate (a negro) by shooting from a car bearing the Eller standard. They and their henchmen were tried, but evidence against them disappeared. Photographs have been published in the Chicago papers showing State's Attorney Crowe at a banquet given by the notorious Genna gang, later exterminated, and of former State's Attorney, now United States Senator, Deneen at a similar entertainment given by an overlord of crime, Diamond Joe Esposito. The Crime Commission report notes that at D'Andrea's funeral twenty-one judges were named as honorary pall-

bearers, and at Colosimo's, seven aldermen. These things may be in part attributed to the good-fellowship and tolerance which pervade Chicago, to a certain frankness which approaches bravado in the face of journalistic enterprise, and a strong sense of humor.

Chicago has had many spasms of reform in its history. One was before the Civil War, when Mayor Long John Wentworth cleaned out the levee. Another was under Carter Harrison 2d. The late Mayor Dever's efforts to enforce the laws against liquor and gambling reveal the dilemma of government. In the preceding administration protection was granted and money paid at the City Hall, whence the police received their orders—a centralized system which enabled the City Government to know and have a hand over whatever was going on. Mayor Dever threw the system out of the City Hall and ordered the police to enforce the laws—with the result that captains and patrolmen extorted protection money everywhere, and the gamblers and bootleggers fell out among themselves. Dever was defeated and his predecessor, Mayor Thompson, returned to office in alliance with State's Attorney Crowe, but the reform wave gathered force after its setback and at the primary of 1928 smashed the Crowe-Thompson machine.

Obviously, with invitations out for a World's Fair in 1933, Chicago must do an immense amount of work to get itself ready for its guests, physically and morally. Its reputation for open and abundant crime, which has already cast doubt on its safety as a meeting place for conventions, must be cleared. This means efficient government. Already suggestions have been heard that Mayor Thompson should resign or retire "back stage," and leave a committee of citizens to run the city. And something of the sort has perhaps already happened. Chicago has always relied on individual enterprise rather than on civic organization, and when the interests of city and powerful individuals have coincided, it has never been disappointed. The World's Fair of 1933 may be another turning point in its history.

Valeriano Weyler, Spain's Veteran Soldier-Statesman

By PIERRE CRABITES

AMERICAN JUDGE ON THE EGYPTIAN MIXED TRIBUNAL

THIRTY YEARS AGO every school-boy in the United States was acquainted with the name of Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marques de Tenerife. He was then Captain General of Cuba. The newspapers kept him on the front page and hammered away at him with an animosity that was as persistent as it was virulent. Still hale and hearty at 91, riding on horseback frequently, and writing his memoirs, his career is interesting to survey, for it epitomizes the political life of Spain and explains how statesmen from the barracks have for decades dominated the Iberian Peninsula, first under one banner and then under another.

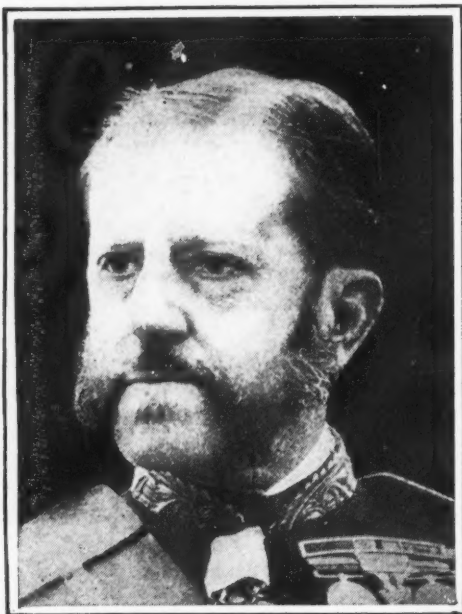
It was at Palma de Mallorca in the Balearic Islands that this energetic veteran was born on Sept. 17, 1838. His father was Fernando Weyler y Laviña, Inspector General of Military Sanitation. The future Grandee of Spain was, therefore, nurtured in that politico-military atmosphere which is typified by his own career. He obtained his education in his native isle and at Granada within the shadow of the Alhambra. Becoming an infantry cadet in 1853, he climbed step by step the various rungs of the ladder of his profession.

Short in stature and slight of build, he soon displayed that assertiveness, pugnacity and courage so often characteristic of small men. As Spain was almost always in hot water with its subjects beyond the seas, this restless, high-strung, combative officer had ample opportunity for showing his mettle. He made good on the field of battle, for he was never known to flinch under fire. On the contrary, so

fearless was he that most of his promotions were obtained for conspicuous bravery. It was for gallantry in action that in 1864 he became Lieutenant Colonel, in 1869 a Colonel, in 1870 a Brigadier General, in 1873 a *Mariscal de Campo* and in 1878 a Lieutenant General. Such distinguished services marked Weyler as a prominent political figure, because in Spain the army is part of the governmental machine.

When the Cuban insurrection of 1878 was put down, the Pearl of the Antilles enjoyed successive years of relative quiet. The 40-year-old Lieutenant General had, therefore, no fighting in sight. His friends accordingly decided to groom him for the office-holding branch of his service. The administrative life of the country was admirably suited to their design, since Spain is a highly centralized State, with Madrid as its hub, and practically all the attributes of the governmental life of the nation emanating from the capital.

For purposes of convenience, Spain is divided into a number of zones, which, technically speaking, are not provinces, states or counties but officially captaincies general, so called because their chief executive officer is a soldier. He has, it is true, a civilian staff as well as a military family. But his arms and accoutrements are the symbols of his functions. In a land where towns have often been bombarded with *pronunciamentos*, where the present dynasty owes its throne to a *Junta* of soldiers and where brass buttons and gold lace are even more numerous than beggars, these Captains General, in fact if not in theory, make



Brown Brothers

GENERAL WEYLER

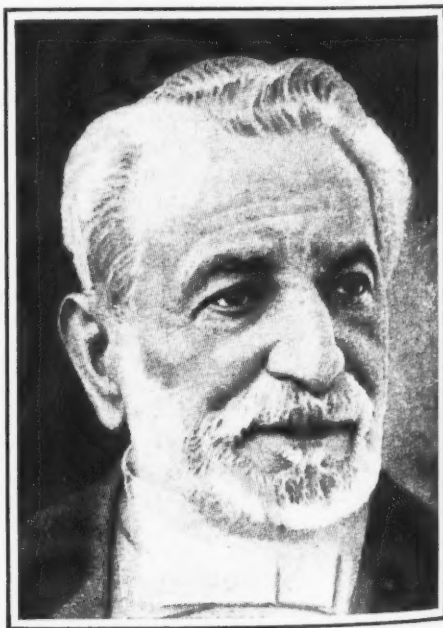
As he appeared at the time of the Spanish-American War

the civil authority subordinate to the military. The whole scheme of administration vests all ultimate power in the sword. The military obtain their appointments because their chests are covered with medals. They discharge their duties in the spirit of the mess-room.

To show that the entire social fabric of Spain is based upon the predominance of the military caste one need not go back to the days of Ferdinand and Isabella. It will suffice to begin with the return of the Bourbons in 1874. They owe their crown to a council of officers led by Captain General Martinez Campos. When, in 1865, Alphonso XII breathed his last, it was this selfsame soldier who made it possible for the unborn King to inherit his father's throne. This fighting man arranged what is known to Spanish historians as the *Pacto del Prado*. This was a gentlemen's agreement by which the various political leaders agreed to support the Queen Regent provided the army would consent to allow them

to exchange offices whenever they thought that the time was ripe to stage the comedy of a Ministerial crisis. Of course, the king-maker reserved a share of the spoils for his followers. They had not taken part in this historic conference for purely altruistic purposes. They had become tired of revolutions. They wanted law and order in the shape of a permanent dynasty. But they insisted upon patronage in the form of rotation in office.

Instead of dividing all the positions among the group which was then in power and which would have meant the prospect of endless war and fat billets for but few, they said: "Give every man a change at the trough. We shall each of us have our turn. Sagasta for the Liberals, Canovas for the Conservatives and Castelar for the Moderate Republicans will decide as to the precise moment when gears will be shifted." Officers, therefore, sit in the Cortes without resigning their commission. Prominent Generals prefer the Senate. It is there that Primo de Rivera sits and where Weyler holds a mandate. All the Generals of the Spanish

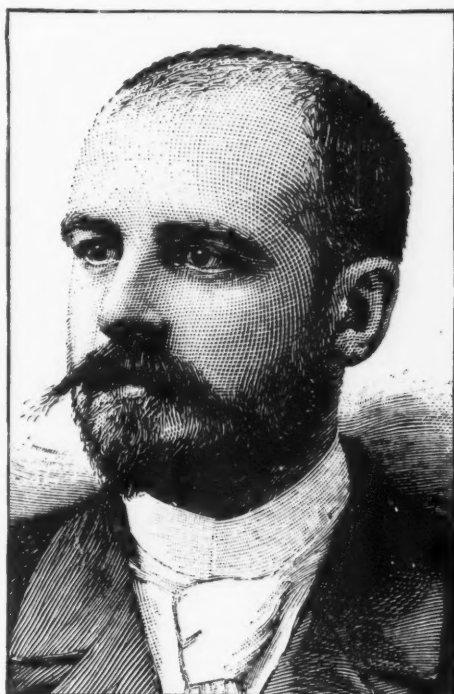


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PRADEXES MATEO SAGASTA

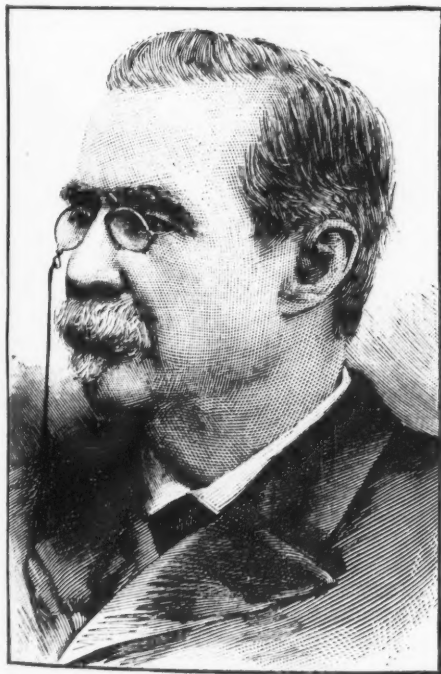
Army are, however, not in the Senate nor are all the Admirals of the fleet to be found within its precincts. There are not enough seats in that body to accommodate all these army and navy chieftains.

Exactly how many Generals there are in the Spanish forces is a controversial question. Former Prime Minister Romanones writes in his recent book, *Las Responsabilidades*, that when the World War broke out his nation had 444 Generals. A distinguished fellow-countryman of his, in a reply to this work, says that these statistics are erroneous and that the proper figure is only 247. Be that as it may, with not more than three or four exceptions, every Minister of War or of the Navy that Spain has known since 1874 has been an army or navy officer. And they have seen to it that their adherents in uniform have received their adequate share of political patronage. One of their cloth has repeatedly held the presidency of the Chamber or that of the Cortes. This has kept their hand



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ENRIQUE DUPUY DE LOME
Spanish Minister to the United States at
the outbreak of the Spanish-American War



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CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO

on the legislative machinery of the country.

When, therefore, it is seen that Weyler has been Captain General of the Canaries, the Balearic Islands, the Philippines, Burgos, Navarre, Catalonia, Cuba and Madrid, it is not difficult to imagine that when he held these assignments he was an outstanding political factor. Certain of these appointments might perhaps be considered as the appendage of a soldier-statesman who was not necessarily in the inner circles of the elect. But the Philippine tenure and that of Cuba, Catalonia and Madrid tell their own message. Such positions are conferred only on those who have access to the Holy of Holies. And observation shows that when the Ministry of the hour changes these congenial benefices almost invariably find a new incumbent.

In 1895, when the endemic unrest in Cuba grew to the size of an insurrection, Weyler was Captain General of

Catalonia. He was stationed there because Barcelona was an unruly place and a strong hand was needed to keep it in order. He was known to be a staunch Conservative of the blood-and-thunder school, a strict disciplinarian who would not stand for any nonsense. His friends, under Canovas del Castillo, were then in office. They had dispatched Martinez Campos to Cuba as Captain General of that territory in order to have him try to carry out a policy of temporary expedients which was foredoomed to failure. He was a Liberal, and his appointment to the Havana post was in the nature of a sop to the Cortes which was predominantly Radical. The Conservatives wanted to dissolve Parliament and to put in Deputies of their own party but they were afraid to order an election without doing some preliminary manoeuvring.

Weyler was their man. They looked to him to put the fear of God into the hearts of the Cubans. Their plan was to use him to carry through their *Politica de la Guerra*. But, because in 1878 Martinez Campos had pacified the Great Antilles by inaugurating a policy of reconciliation, such a campaign of brutal severity could not be carried through as long as the prestige of that soldier remained unimpaired. He was, therefore, given the necessary rope in order that he might hang himself and thus make Weyler the man of the hour. The way the whole thing worked out shows that Spaniards are past masters in the art of electioneering.

By January, 1896, Martinez Campos had discovered that his leniency had not quelled the uprising, and on Jan. 16 he tendered a tentative resignation with the suggestion that he felt confident of eventual success if the government would bear with him a little longer. He received an immediate answer, which, with all of its Castilian politeness, told him in effect to hurry home. The secret police arranged for a cool reception when he disembarked at Coruña and for a hostile demonstration when he arrived in Madrid.

In the meantime Weyler was trans-

ferred from the Captaincy General of Barcelona to that of Havana. He sailed for Cuba on Jan. 25, 1896. His reputation as a fire-eater had preceded him. So greatly was he feared that more than 2,000 Cubans asked for their passports as soon as they heard of his nomination. When the American newspapers learned of this, they played it up as a news item of major import, while in their editorial columns they denounced the new Governor as a bloodthirsty reactionary. The opening of these batteries on the Conservative General made of him a Spanish idol. This created the very atmosphere that the Conservative campaign managers desired.

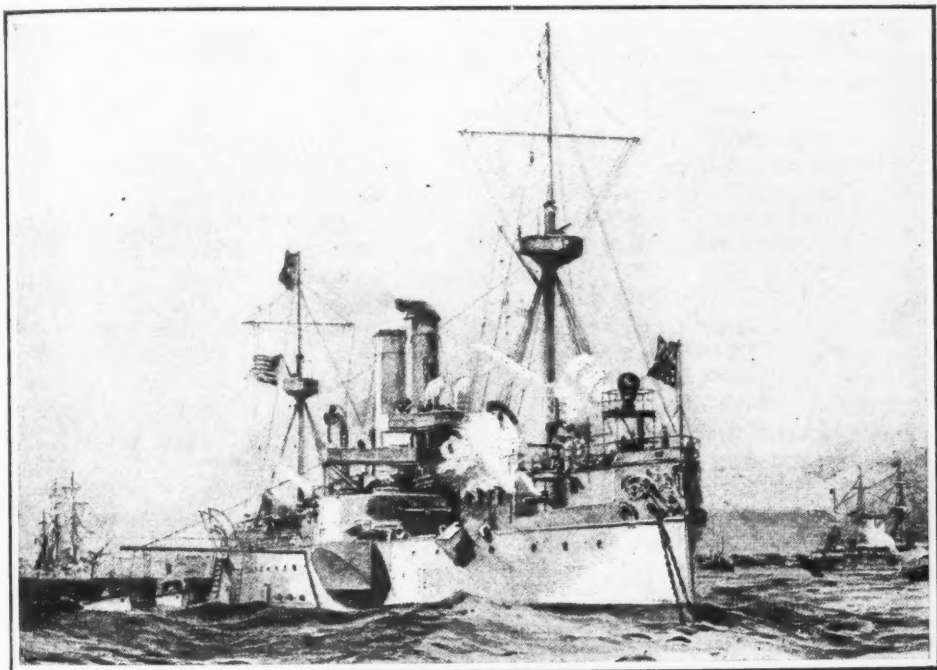
When it was seen that the virulence of the attacks of the American press had brought about the expected reaction in Spain the Canovas Ministry lost no time in rushing forward its election plans. On Feb. 21, 1896, it sent Weyler a telegram which said in substance: "Public opinion is undecided as to whether the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of an election should be postponed on account of the Cuban insurrection. You are on the spot and you are best able to decide this question. Let us have your views. To our minds everything must be subordinated to the pacification of Cuba. We shall act in accordance with any recommendations that you may make in the interests of peace." Three days later Weyler cabled his approval of the appeal to the country. Pending the decision of the electorate, the soldiers in the Cabinet and the politicians in the army marked time.

WEYLER'S ALLEGED FEROCITY

As soon as the ink had dried upon the election returns which gave a Conservative majority, the government put into operation its *Politica de la Guerra*. In a word, the Marques de Tenerife, Captain General of Cuba, issued his famous *reconcentrado* orders. They shocked the public conscience of the United States and outraged the whole English-speaking world. They gave Weyler a reputation for wanton feroc-

ity, cold-blooded cruelty and cynical brutality that placed his name among soldiers in the same category that bull-fights occupy in the realm of sports. And yet, looking back across the span of years, it is but fair to admit that the name of "Butcher" was applied

tion. He made it clear to the home government that it would take him two years to do so, but his friend Canovas, the Prime Minister, was assassinated on Aug. 8, 1897. This brought about a Cabinet crisis. The Conservatives tried to carry on as, under the *Pacto de*



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U. S. S. Maine in the Harbor of Havana

with indecent haste. Competent critics declare that the *reconcentrado* proclamation was identical with the "block house" campaign which Lord Kitchener, a few years later, put into effect in South Africa. The Spanish word itself conveys the idea of nothing more than concentration camps. It may be that in practice the British General carried out his plan in a humanitarian spirit unknown to the Spaniard. This, however, is no answer to the salient fact that Weyler was condemned actually before his policy was put into execution. Obloquy was meted out to him without giving him a chance to show that things could work out along humane lines.

Weyler did not put down the revolu-

Prado, or rotation in office scheme, an assassination did not justify a reshuffling of the cards. It was seen, however, that the murdered Premier so thoroughly typified the political machine of his party that it was thought best to allow the Liberals to return to power in order to give the Conservative organization a chance to evolve a new leadership. Sagasta and the Liberals, therefore, took up the reins of office on Oct. 2, 1897, and as the Havana Governorship was a piece of patronage of major importance, the Captain General of Cuba was at once recalled. On Oct. 9, Marques de Peñalatos, better known as General Blanco, succeeded the Marques de Tenerife, ordinarily referred to as Gen-

eral Weyler. A new party platform in the shape of changed Cuban policy was at once inaugurated.

The sky began to assume a roseate tint. President McKinley, in a message to Congress, advised against the immediate recognition of the belligerency of the Cubans. But in January, 1898, the Spanish Minister at Washington, Señor Dupuy de Lome, made certain unfair attacks upon the President of the United States which caused the withdrawal of that indiscreet diplomatist. Before the effect of this incident had been straightened out the Maine was blown up in Havana Harbor on Feb. 15, war between the United States and Spain breaking out on April 6, 1898.

THE CONQUERING HERO

When Weyler returned to Spain he was welcomed by the populace with all of the honors ordinarily reserved for a conquering hero. He knew what these demonstrations meant and bided his hour. It came shortly after the signature of the treaty of peace with the United States. By this time the Conservatives had carried through their readjustment process and the mantle of leadership had fallen on Silvela, who deviated from the Canovas preference for Weyler as chief of the military section of that party. In fact Silvela formed a working alliance with General Polavieja who was for some more or less vague reason the military hero of the moment. This seems to have aggravated Weyler. At all events the stalwart of the days of Canovas linked up his fortunes with Sagasta and the Liberals. Sagasta needed a military favorite to play off against Polavieja. He, therefore, was only too willing to capitalize the popularity of Weyler. It, however, did not suffice to save the Liberal Cabinet. It fell and the Silvela-Polavieja combination of mufti and khaki took office in March, 1899.

In March, 1901, the pendulum was ready for another swing. It again brought Sagasta to the Premiership, and Weyler, under a Liberal banner, to the War Office portfolio. Other Minis-

terial combinations called Weyler to the head of the same department in 1905. In this latter year he changed uniforms and became an Admiral, which is another way of saying that he was appointed Minister of the Navy.

In 1910 he received the rank of Captain General in the army, as distinct from the administrative post bearing the same title. In due course he became Chief of Staff of the army and also its Inspector General, and in 1924, when he had already celebrated his eighty-sixth birthday, he was chosen President of the Supreme Command of the Army and Navy.

It is said that Weyler disapproved of Primo de Rivera's plans for the Moroccan campaign. The censorship makes it difficult, however, to know exactly what took place between him and the Dictator. Two facts, nevertheless, are clear. One is that Weyler did not look upon his office as a sinecure. The second is that after his resignation as President of the Supreme Command he engaged so actively in politics that the government became alarmed and is said to have suggested that a court-martial impose a heavy fine upon him.

In a memorandum of the salient facts concerning his career and his personality Weyler says that he neither drinks alcohol in any form nor does he smoke, though the word "alcohol" might not cover the impossible Spanish beer nor the palatable light wines of his beloved Balearic Islands. He revels in outdoor sports, horseback riding being his favorite pastime. Today, when twenty-one years have passed since he attained the scriptural age of three score years and ten, he makes it a fixed rule to mount his favorite horse every other day. Need it be said that a man who loves verdant fields and animals never attends a bull fight? That is a most unusual thing for a Spaniard. With this final evidence of Weyler's abhorrence of cruelty, is it proper for Americans to continue to construe his Cuban measures in the light of the belief current in 1898?

MADRID, Spain.

King Zog Modernizing Albania

By NELO DRIZARI

ALBANIAN JOURNALIST

ALBANIA RECENTLY observed the first anniversary of her monarchy and paid an impressive tribute to King Zog I for the progress which he has achieved in that short period. Since the new King's advent to the throne, one year ago, Albania has undergone tremendous social and religious changes; indeed, so fast has one reform followed on the heels of another that many observers have been alarmed lest the country should be crushed under the sudden avalanche of drastic alterations.

The conditions under which King Zog worked to bring about the necessary changes were practically chaotic. At the outset, there was dire necessity to establish peace and order, and to win especially the support of the sturdy tribes of the north. As soon as the King achieved that end, he turned to another far more difficult task—that of Westernizing his country. And this he undertook to accomplish in the face of patriotic and religious opposition.

While his plans were still embryonic the budget problem loomed up like a ghost. In previous years a number of cabinets had fallen owing to their inability to balance the credits and debits of the State. But at this juncture there was one more danger at hand: the budget was closely linked with the loan that Albania had procured from Italy in 1926. As a guarantee of payment of this debt, the customs receipts were pledged. However, the 1928 budget was unfavorable, owing to a severe drought which destroyed crops. Consequently King Zog procured from Italy a three-year moratorium on the debt. Moreover, he resorted to rigid economy by reducing the army and by eliminating superfluous officials.

Meanwhile, the promulgation of the Civil Code last March aroused a commotion. Before the Civil Code was adopted the country was in apparent chaos, so far as religious rites are concerned. Each religious faction conformed to its own laws and was utterly divorced from government license. When the government took a firm hold on the reins of the country, and promulgated the code serious trouble arose. The Roman Catholics of the north objected to being subservient to the State. For centuries they had enjoyed unhampered freedom in marriages, divorces and in teaching in their private schools. The new measures, therefore, meddled with their ancient privileges. For this reason they registered thundering protests. But, since the sturdy Catholic tribes had already pledged their support to the King, the clergy gave no more vent to their demands, but bowed to the new order.

On the other hand, the position of the Moslems was made even more precarious. The Civil Code deprived them of certain luxuries, chief among which was polygamy. They were to conform not only to a single standard, or monogamy, but were also required to register all marriages and divorces with the local government authorities. Hitherto many a Moslem had enjoyed the unique freedom of marrying at his pleasure and, at times, of sending home to her parents a wife who disturbed his peace of mind or that of his modest harem. He either received her back with great reluctance or else refused to accept her at all. But they also were forced to conform to the new requirements.

Before the country had the time to recover from the shock of the Civil Code, Parliament, at the behest of King

Zog, made another drastic change: Sunday was declared the only legal holiday in the week, despite the fact that 70 per cent of the population of Albania is Mohammedan. Up to that time there had been two holidays: Friday and Sunday. The new change, however, did away with much confusion, expense and waste of time. Realizing the benefits to be derived from one holiday a week, even stanch Moslem fanatics showed no signs of dissension.

The truth is that in religious matters there had come a change of heart which was brought about by vigorous campaigns conducted by Albanian newspapers. Editors wrote in glowing praise of the great religious reforms President Kemal had effected in Turkey. They even urged Moslems openly to take notice or be pointed out as a backward people.

This had important reactions, leading to a momentous event—the setting up

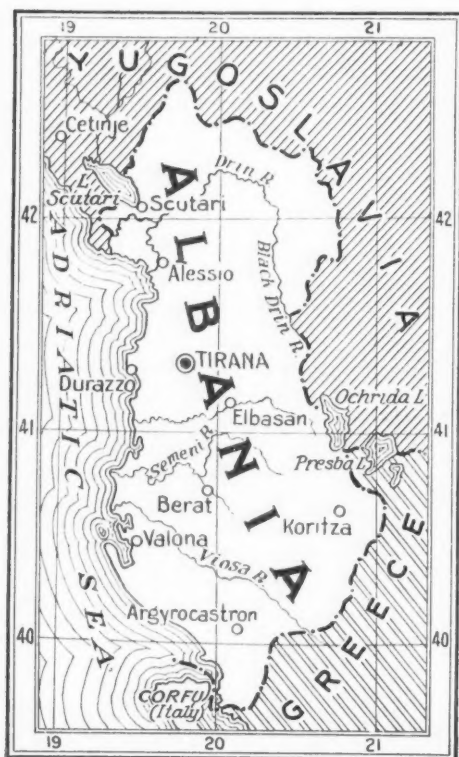
of an independent Albanian national church. The people, Mohammedan and Christian, were seized by a patriotic mania; all religious factions took up the trumpet call, with the Albanian Orthodox clergy paving the way for immediate religious reforms. Thus last June, at the Orthodox Congress in Korcha, the leading modern city in Albania, the Orthodox Church was declared independent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and Albanian was substituted for Greek in the liturgical services.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

By making the Albanian Orthodox Church independent, the clergy achieved a daring feat, because hitherto the Patriarch had served as their spiritual head and guide. Moreover, the Greek language had been used in services, and whoever attempted to translate the Bible from Greek into Albanian had been at once "anathematized" by the Patriarch at Constantinople. In fact, even last June the Albanian Church was refused recognition.

However, the dangerous barriers were removed, due to the fact that the Autocephalus Orthodox Church of Serbia stepped in, at the invitation of the Korcha Congress, and sanctioned the decision of the religious gathering. Thereupon the Congress elected Archbishop Geovan Vissarion, a learned cleric and patriot, as the head of the newly created Autocephalus Orthodox Church of Albania. This turn of events caused great jubilation among the Orthodox population. Their enthusiasm reached greater heights when the Albanian Orthodox clergy of America, who are still nominally under Bishop Fan Noli, now a political exile in Vienna, at once expressed their adherence to the native church despite the fact that they were expected to cause a schism.

The credit for this turn of events went to King Zog, who, as it was revealed later, sent to the Orthodox Congress a fiery, patriotic message by no less a distinguished messenger than his Prime Minister, M. Kocho Kotla. The latter, as a stanch Orthodox Christian and a native of Korcha, made also a



MAP OF ALBANIA



Times Wide World

KING ZOG

A recent portrait of the Albanian monarch in the study of his new Summer palace at Durazzo



Keystone

King Zog inspecting his army before the House of Parliament, Tirana, on Proclamation Day

stirring appeal for a united clergy and for a Church which would serve the State as well.

MOSLEM CHURCH ALSO MODERNIZED

But Moslems were not to be beaten in the national game of reforming and modernizing Albania. The Orthodox achievement, and the tremendous psychological effect Turkish reforms had on them, spurred them to immediate action. Therefore, the *hodjas*, or Mohammedan clergy, last July held a congress at Tirana, the capital of Albania, and there looked around for a new Caliph, as the defunct Caliphate of the Sultans had thus far been their spiritual source of worship. But before they had time to breathe in comfort, King Zog sent an equally strong message to the effect that they begin the renovation of the mosque in earnest and show patriotic results. To this message from the throne Acting Caliph Hodja Vehbi, who delivered a moving address, gave assurance of prompt action.

Meanwhile, a number of mosques were "padlocked" and the old-style *hodjas* received notice either to leave the service of the Koran or else to yield to new reforms. To them that was a staggering blow, because they had gone to Turkish schools and there had memorized the Koran in Arabic. That language, although it was not understood by Moslem congregations, was easier for *hodjas* to recite before the faithful than to begin anew in Albanian. Yet, they, too, bowed to the new patriotic steam-roller, which tolerated no stumbling blocks in its path toward the building up of a modern nation.

While Church and mosque were bent on sweeping changes, another highly important movement was launched: Parliament chose a committee of ex-

perts to study the agrarian situation in Albania. Tenure of land has been a baffling question, since some landowners possess extensive estates while many peasants still have the status of serfs in medieval times. On the other hand, great areas of public land are practically idle, and poverty stares the people in the face, owing to lack of agricultural and industrial development. Meanwhile an attempt was made to modernize the methods of agriculture.

STANDARDIZING THE LANGUAGE

Working hand in hand with the agrarian experts is another committee, which has set out to give a definite shape to the Albanian language. Owing to a striking variation in the two Albanian dialects, all printed matter lacks definite form. Consequently, a chaotic condition exists in newspapers and school texts as well as in other literary matter.

Other notable achievements of the year are the completion of roads, bridges, docks and airplane routes. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education converted a number of high schools in each province into technical gymnasias, in which boys and girls learn trades which insure for them a promising future.

Thus Albania, during her first hectic year under King Zog, has set the ball of progress rolling at a dangerous pace. Yet Albania has passed the first milestone successfully, and the second year has been ushered in under good omens. Many keen observers are watching the progress of this little Balkan monarchy with interest and anticipation, for it has already been made clear to the outside world that Albania has at last a ruler who is strong, efficient and progressive.

Belgium's System of Extra Wages For Workers With Children

By AIMEE RACINE

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BELGIUM is the first country in Europe to have passed a law on "family allowances," a term meaning the payment made over and above the regular wage which a workman receives to meet his extra burdens due to the size of his family. The system of family allowances is defended by its advocates on the grounds that the commonly held principle, "equal pay for equal work," should yield to that other principle, "to each according to his needs." The object is to establish an equal starting point for all, irrespective of the number of children in a family, and if not to increase the population, at least to improve the condition of the present and future wage-earners, thus benefiting both the nation and the industry. The payment of family allowances is also considered a means for securing a better distribution of that portion of the national dividend which goes to the working classes.

The family allowance system had already been applied in France before 1914, although only on a very small scale, and during the war, owing to the rise in the cost of living, it developed rapidly in a number of European countries; but after the war it was completely discontinued in some of them and partially in others. It is still applied, however, in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Austria, in accordance with collective agreements as well as in the civil services of a number of other countries. At present its widest and most interesting extension is to be observed in France and in Belgium.

In Belgium family allowances have been introduced solely on the employers' initiative, and as a rule are paid through equalization funds (*Caisses de Compensation*), which have been established in order to pool the costs among a group of employers and to avoid discrimination against workers with responsibilities. These funds are contributed by the employers on the basis of the total number of their employes or the total amount of their wages bill, never according to the number of the workers' dependents. This Belgian system follows the French model. The first Belgian equalization fund was established in the district of Verviers in 1921, another one was founded in 1922 and from that time on the movement has extended with incredible rapidity. At the present moment there are twenty such funds covering about 1,400 firms, which together employ 265,000 workers. In most cases the funds are organized on a district basis, although a few belong to the industrial type, being open only to employers in a given industry. Some private industries, on the other hand, such as the mining industry, are paying family allowances without applying the equalization fund method, and this is true also of some of the large banks. Finally, allowances are granted to all the services under State control, i. e., to civil servants, railway workers, teachers, and so forth, and to a number of local authorities, both provincial and municipal.

In all, 600,000 manual and non-manual workers are covered by the family allowance system; they received in

1927 about 60,000,000 francs. In this total the amount which came out of the equalization funds may be estimated at approximately 17,000,000 francs.

STATE VS. PRIVATE ALLOWANCES

No wonder, then, that the employers who were the main protagonists of this institution should pride themselves upon the results attained by their own activity and example, and no wonder that they are defending the autonomy of their equalization funds and fighting fiercely against any State interference. Being advocates of the *laissez-faire* doctrine, they will not hear of any interference with their work. "Our family allowances," they declare, "are an important factor in industrial peace; they help to improve relations between capital and labor, they lessen industrial strife, and result in a greater stability in our personnel. They better the moral and material standing of the working-class. A generalization of the institution is highly desirable, but it must come spontaneously, without any legal compulsion. Besides, it would be impossible for a State scheme to have the necessary flexibility."

This attitude arouses bitter antagonism on the part of the workers' organizations, who look upon the family allowance system as a weapon forged by the employers to create division between married and unmarried workers, and to bring pressure to bear upon them in time of conflict. They ask why the employers should assume a patronizing attitude and grant as a charity benefits to which the wage-earners are entitled, and for which provision should be made by the community as a whole. The fact is that the system covers so far only one-third of all manual and clerical workers in the country, so that about 1,400,000 people do not benefit by it, and it should therefore be made compulsory by law.

A bill inspired by these views was introduced in December, 1926, by M. Delvigne, representing the Socialist Syndical Commission. This bill proposed the setting up of a State equalization fund

financed by contributions from the State, the employers and the workers in the ratio of 60 per cent, 30 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively—this to be the beginning of a system of social insurance and the fund to be jointly controlled by representatives of the three contributors. But the scheme, which would cover all enterprises, and all workers, has not been discussed. The same is true of another bill which was introduced in June, 1927, by M. Rubbens, and which proposed to set up a National Office for family allowances, with the purpose of supplementing and extending the existing funds.

The law of April 14, 1928, is inspired by more moderate principles. It does not seek to destroy the existing private funds, but it is nevertheless a first step toward compulsory generalization of the system. It sprang from the steadily growing conviction among the people that "family allowances are not a charity, but a right," and that they ought accordingly to be organized by the State, in the same way as unemployment or sickness insurance.

The bill was proposed on Feb. 18, 1926, by M. Henri Carton de Wiart, who in 1924, had already introduced a much more modest bill which was not followed up owing to the dissolution of Parliament. The new bill was discussed by the Chamber of Representatives from May 12 to June 30, 1927, then by the Senate in December, 1927, and January, 1928, when it was so considerably modified that it had to return to the Chamber, which voted it without any further discussion.

PROVISIONS OF NEW LAW

The new law applies only to employers who are working on contracts for the national, provincial or municipal governments, or who supply any of these with goods for an amount exceeding 50,000 francs. Such employers are compelled to contribute to an equalization fund. It is hoped that, as a result of this provision, the payment of allowances and the membership of the fund will soon become binding upon all employers.

The funds now in existence will have to meet certain claims. They must pay a monthly allowance of 15 francs for the first child, 20 francs for the second, 40 francs for the third, and 80 francs for the fourth, and each of the following children.

Every aspect of the question of family allowances was discussed and clarified during the Parliamentary debates. Among the most interesting amendments proposed was that to maintain the payment of allowances during a legal strike, provided the labor contract remained unbroken. This distinction between "legal" and "illegal" strikes, which is quite new, is slowly creeping into the legislation of several countries. England has embodied it in its Trades Disputes and Trade Unions act of 1927. In Belgian legislation it is still theoretical, although certain royal decrees have consecrated it by implication. A strike may be considered legal when it is caused by the employers' inflexibility, and provided it is declared only after the workers' organization has submitted the difference to competent conciliation and arbitration boards. The proposed amendment was defeated, and payment of family allowances is consequently suspended in case of strike.

Another lively debate arose over the question of large families. Of the three great political parties in Belgium, the Liberals, the Socialists and the Catholics, the last are in favor of a constant increase in population, and are advocating every possible means of raising the birth-rate. They hope that this aim may be attained by the payment of family allowances, although no conclusions can be drawn as yet

regarding the actual influence of this system on the birth-rate. A large number of Catholics wanted the new law to protect only workers with large families; and they therefore proposed that no allowance at all should be paid in respect of the first two children. Opposition to this attitude was voiced particularly by Madame Spaak, a Socialist, the only woman in the Belgian Parliament. She argued that an increase in the birth-rate would be a serious danger in view of Belgium's economic problems, and that it was immoral to breed children when one was unable to support them. The Catholics' answer was: "We consider it better to have been anyhow than never to have been at all, for we believe in the immortality of the soul." But as the law was adopted allowances were made compulsory from the first child on.

The practical results of the new law are awaited with eager interest. Will it jeopardize the existence of the private funds? Will it lead to an actual generalization of the system? What will be its effect on the question of population? These questions and many others cannot be answered before some time has passed, possibly some years. The legislators have repeatedly declared that this law is purely experimental, that it must be tested by the facts before any definite conclusions may be drawn as to its effects, and that it will probably have to be amended before long. There can be no question, however, that an important step in the realm of social insurance has been taken, and Belgium may justly feel proud of having been the pioneer in a field of such importance to the welfare of the community.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

Vitamin "D" and the Cure of Rickets

By *WATSON DAVIS*

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VITAMIN IS one of the most widely known words of the English language today. Yet it was not in the dictionaries of about a decade ago. From the trilogy of the vitamin kindergarten, A, B and C, the number of vitamins has grown until the alphabet has been utilized as far as G, and such terms as X, *bios*, and PP have been called on to serve the nomenclature of the rapidly expanding area of research upon accessory food factors. How simple feeding the human machine seemed to be in the days when the textbooks told us that fats, carbohydrates and proteins were the three food classes.

The antirachitic vitamin, now named D, was formed by the good biological method of fission from the old, pioneer vitamin A which was originally the label used not only for the principle which is curative and preventive of rickets but also for the growth promoting factor, which now holds rights to A. In the early days of research on accessory food factors, these two properties were lumped together. Now the narrowing down of the chemistry and physiology of the rickets preventing principle makes the modern vitamin D not so simple as it seems. Sunlight or ultra-violet radiation from artificial sources has been found to activate foods and vegetable oils, creating the vitamin. Ergosterol is the chemical substance that the short invisible rays act upon to produce the antirachitic principle. That is not the whole story. Calcium has much to do with rickets, the deficiency disease that shows itself in ill-formed bones of children and ani-

mals, causing bow legs, pot bellies and general ill health. Calcium is the main bone building material; vitamin D seems, in effect, to give it permission to be used. The therapeutic effects of codliver oil, irradiated foods, and other vitamin D sources are utilized daily by physicians; it is not necessary to know the theory or even the origin of an effect in order to put it to practical use. Meanwhile there come from scientific laboratories various suggestions relating to vitamin D.

Rickets is fundamentally a bacterial disease, caused by the poisonous products of bacteria in the digestive tract. Vitamin D prevents this distressing ill of childhood primarily by killing off a large proportion of these harmful microorganisms. These claims, differing radically from the concepts now orthodox in physiology, are advanced by Lester Yoder, chemist at the Iowa Experiment Station, Ames. He was led to his conclusions by a study of the bacterial population of the intestinal contents before, during and after the administration of vitamin D. While his experimental animals were receiving the vitamin the bacterial count fell off markedly, but increased again when the vitamin was discontinued. For this reason Mr. Yoder suggests the possibility of using vitamin D as a means for the general control of the bacterial growths within us, as well as for the specific cure or prevention of rickets. Studies on vitamin D in the test-tube as well as on its physiological effects have confirmed Mr. Yoder in his opinion that it exerts its principal effects without ever leaving the digestive tract. Pure ergosterol, which is the stuff that be-

comes vitamin D when ultra-violet light has shown upon it, he says, is almost insoluble in water. After exposure to ultra-violet radiation it becomes even more insoluble. In this condition it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for it to pass through the intestinal wall and be absorbed into the circulating blood. For this reason the experimenter concluded that it exerts its chief influence during its passage through the digestive tube, and not in the circulatory system.

Another group of investigators suspect oatmeal and other cereals of harboring an "anti-vitamin" which, when too much cereal is eaten, can counteract the effects of vitamin D and cause rickets even when an otherwise adequate diet is being eaten. Most scientists have concluded that vitamin D, which is found in fats, notably codliver oil, can prevent rickets. This disease has been considered due to poor nutrition and principally to a lack of vitamin D in the diet.

However, Dr. L. Mirvish of the University of Cape Town Medical School, contends that recent experiments with cereals show that rickets is not purely a result of too little vitamin D but is primarily due to a lowering of the amount of calcium in the blood. The presence of rickets-producing "anti-vitamins" in cereals, chiefly oatmeal and wheat, was first indicated by experiments of Professor Edward Mellanby of Sheffield University, England, who called the substance "toxamins." Following this lead, Dr. Mirvish extracted the "anti-vitamin" substance from oatmeal and injected it into rabbits. He found that the calcium in the blood was lowered as a result of these injections. This bore out and explained the work of other investigators who found that rickets can be induced in young animals by feeding them an excess of cereals or by adding extracts of cereals to a diet which did not produce rickets in control animals. Dr. Mirvish suggests that rickets may prove to be a sign of underactivity of two small glands in the neck, known as the parathyroids, and thought by some authori-

ties to have an important relation to the supply of calcium in the blood.

ULTRA-VIOLET RAYS

Since the ultra-violet rays of sunlight are so intimately concerned with vitamin D, how to let them through the window into home and schoolroom is of practical concern. Dr. W. W. Coblenz, physicist of the United States Bureau of Standards at Washington, has tested various window glasses and other materials and suggested that for effective results the material should not transmit less than 45 to 50 per cent of the ultra-violet rays in the sunlight. If only small amounts of the ultra-violet rays penetrate the windows they cannot be relied upon to effect cures of rickets, which are possible with large doses of ultra-violet rays as well as with sources of vitamin D. Dr. Coblenz quoted clinical reports that indicated that exposures of five to seven hours each day with light through glass with 25 per cent transmission would be necessary merely to prevent rickets in a normal, properly fed child, and in view of the fact that such exposures of such lengths are not practicable, he believes that at least 45 to 50 per cent transmission must be required in specifications. Even with this degree of transmission, the effect would be preventive only and in no sense curative. Various commercial makes of glasses, after being stabilized by exposure to sunlight, ranged from only one-half of one per cent to 59 per cent transmission, with four out of nine greater than 40 per cent. Dr. Coblenz used a wave length of 302 millimicrons as a division point between the ultra-violet rays and the rest of the sunlight. Tracing cloth, which has been suggested for window material because of a supposed transparency to ultra-violet rays, was found to be actually no more transparent than other fabrics such as nainsook, batiste or balloon cloth. Other studies of fabrics showed that those made of silk and wool yarns compared favorably in transmission of ultra-violet light with cotton, linen and rayon. Feathers have a fairly high transmission, apparently

nature's provision for assuring chickens and other birds their supply of these vital rays. Unlacquered surfaces of metals, aluminum, nickel and chromium, are good reflectors of ultra-violet radiation. Linseed oil and nitro-cellulose lacquer, especially after drying, are highly opaque to ultra-violet radiation.

PROGRESS IN PSYCHOLOGY

The Ninth International Congress of Psychology, the first on American soil, held recently at Yale, emphasized the part that America has played in recent trends in the science of human behavior. America's chief contribution to psychological science has not been to advance important new theories but to produce objective measurements, thus providing useful data on human behavior. One of the pioneers, the first to publish psychological measurements of individual differences, Dr. J. McKeen Cattell of New York, was president of the congress and he said with reference to American psychology: "Those engaged at first in conflict with nature, wild animals, and savages, later in subduing the wilderness, now in the construction of a vast and complicated industrial civilization, are more likely to be interested in their own performance and in the conduct of others than to indulge in the refinements and vagaries of introspection." This year celebrates the golden jubilee of psychology, Dr. Cattell pointed out, since it might be said that before 1879 there was no organized science of psychology in the world. In that year Wilhelm Wundt established at Leipzig the first psychological laboratory, Francis Galton published his *Psychometric Experiments*, and William James and Theodore Ribot published epoch-making works on the new science.

PROPULSION BY ROCKET

Despite demonstration of a rocket-powered airplane in Germany, practical utilization of such motive power is some distance in the future. When the kick of gases through a nozzle does

serve mankind in this way, it will be more likely to carry human freight or instruments into the airless interplanetary spaces instead of the more prosaic heights near the earth. There is little likelihood that rockets will ever become a serious competitor of combustion engines in terrestrial vehicles or in airplanes for use in the lower portions of the atmosphere. The rocket depends for its propulsion on the kick given by the explosions. It uses its fuel, whether gasoline, hydrogen and oxygen, or explosives, very rapidly, but only a small amount of the fuel's total energy is available to furnish the necessary "kick." In other words, the rocket has a low efficiency. Where the same fuel can be used to apply energy to the ground, as in the automobile, or to the air, as with the airplane, it is better to use the wheel or propeller to obtain traction. In getting through the space between the planets, containing less air than in the vacuum of an incandescent lamp, however, the situation is very different. There no air, ground or water is available against which to push and the rocket is the only known means of propulsion. The kick of an explosion is just as powerful in a vacuum as in the air, for the push is against the gases formed by the explosion. In fact, in a vacuum, the rocket would tend to travel somewhat faster, because of the lack of atmospheric resistance.

The theoretical investigations upon the practical uses of the rocket were begun by Professor R. H. Goddard, American physicist at Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Later mathematical studies were made on the same problem by Professor Max Vallier of Munich and Albert Mueller. The results of the latter were made available to the Opel company's engineers. Some years ago Professor Goddard startled the scientific world by publishing data showing the possibility of a rocket flight to the moon. These researches have been continued by him since then under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. His rocket, he figured, could travel at a speed of 6.6 miles a

second, nearly 400 miles an hour. This speed would be sufficient to allow it to escape from the earth's gravitational attraction, and to take it to the moon in eleven hours. His idea was that the rocket would not carry a passenger but would bear a charge of flash powder, to explode upon impact at the moon's surface. This great flash could then be observed through telescopes.

TRANSOCEANIC TELEPHONY

Early in the year 1932 it will probably be possible to talk from the United States to Europe by telephone regardless of the static and atmospheric conditions that interfere with transatlantic radio at times. By then it is expected that a transatlantic telephone cable will be in use, providing an all-wire voice circuit between the two continents. Engineers at the Bell Telephone Laboratories here are now working on the development of the cable system, which will connect New York with London. Long distance lines will radiate from each of these cities to the other parts of Europe and America. It is not expected that the cable will replace the present radio system, but its greater reliability will assure a connection at all times. It will also provide an additional channel so that more messages can be handled at once. The telephone cable will handle only one conversation at a time.

Recently developed alloys of nickel, cobalt and iron make telephony by cable possible. This metal is known as "perminvar." It is not used to carry the currents that traverse the cable, but is wrapped spirally around the cable as loading. A copper wire in the centre is the actual conductor. With a plain copper wire, which was used in the first cables, the wire and the sea outside acted as a condenser, even though the wire was fully insulated. Electricity is stored in a condenser something like water in a tank, so it is sluggish in its action. The condenser, which is the entire cable, must be charged before the operator at the other end gets a signal, while it must be discharged before an-

other signal can be sent. This made early cable transmission very slow.

This capacity of the cable—the property that makes it a condenser—can be overcome by loading it. This is done by wrapping it with wire or tape made of metal which becomes magnetized by the slight currents flowing through the cable. For use in telegraphy, the Bell Laboratories developed an alloy called "permalloy," which is now in use on several high-speed cables. These cables respond instantly to signals from the transmitting end. Perminvar has a further advantage over permalloy, however, for it is affected the same extent by the same variation in current, whether in a weak current or a relatively heavy one. With telegraph cables, the current either flows or does not flow, and the change is from on to off, so this property is not needed. Telephony, however, requires a wide range of current strength, to take care of the modulations of the voice. With a cable loaded with perminvar this is possible.

BROADCASTING THROUGH ROCK

Dr. A. S. Eve, Professor of Physics at McGill University, has determined, after tests that he made in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, that radio waves of the frequency used for broadcasting are capable of passing through at least 300 feet of rock, such as limestone and sandstone. The experiments were performed in collaboration with D. A. Keys and F. W. Lee under the joint auspices of the United States Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey of Canada. Professor Eve had made previous experiments in the Mount Royal Tunnel at Montreal. He found that the broadcast waves could be heard throughout the entire 3½-mile length of the tunnel, but short waves of about 40 meters, could not be detected more than a few hundred feet from the tunnel's mouth. The problem then was to find out how the waves entered the tunnel. One idea was that they penetrated the rock, another was that they came in through the entrance, while a third theory proposed

that they were carried along the rails and wires. Professor Eve believes that all three paths are available, but it was desirable to try the experiment under conditions which would eliminate some of these possibilities. Mammoth Cave proved an ideal location for such tests, as it contains no wiring or other continuous conductors, and the tortuous passages effectually seal off the entrances. When a super-heterodyne receiver, equipped with a loop aerial, was taken into the cave under Mammoth Dome, words and music were received from Louisville, Nashville and Cincinnati, with 75 feet of rock, mostly sandstone, above. With an aerial 300 feet long coupled to the loop of the set, the signals were received with 300 feet of rock above.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S LIBRARY

A considerable portion of the library of Sir Isaac Newton, one of the world's greatest scientists, is now on sale in England. Until the recent discovery of these books by Colonel R. de Villamil, the whereabouts of Newton's library had been a mystery for many years. It was certain that Newton must have had a large library, but none of the biographies mentioned it, and until 1920 it was thought that it had completely vanished. In that year an old mansion at Thame Park, in Oxfordshire, was sold at auction by the owner, Mr. Wykeham-Musgrave, who owned another home at Barnsley Park, in Gloucestershire. To this sale were sent a lot of old books from the latter house. The books were not known to be of any particular value and were sold as rubbish, though a few bore the autograph of "Is. Newton." The entire lot went for about \$500. A few of the purchasers discovered that they had books from Newton's Library which were eventually sold in London by a large dealer in old scientific works, but a considerable number of the books were sent to the pulp mill and irretrievably lost. Of those sold, many were bought for American libraries. Many brought

prices as high as several hundred dollars, and one, the copy of Euclid that Newton used as a student at Cambridge, was listed at \$3,000.

In 1927, at the time of the tercentenary of Newton's death, Colonel de Villamil wrote an account of "The Tragedy of Sir Isaac Newton's Library" in *The Bookman*. This came to the attention of Mr. Wykeham-Musgrave, who finally invited Colonel de Villamil to visit his Barnsley Park home to see a few books that still remained. He had previously discovered a catalogue of the library, made about 1760, showing that it had contained 1,896 books. Colonel de Villamil expected to see 15 or 20 books but he actually found 860, which, out of the 1,896, is more than a mere residue. All these books had been put away in cupboards and corners where their owner did not even know of their existence; otherwise they would probably have been sold at Thame Park and lost.

Colonel de Villamil has now worked out the complete history of the library. After Newton's death it was sold to his neighbor, John Huggins, warden of the Fleet Prison. He gave the books to his son, Charles Huggins, rector of Chinnor. When he died about 1750, his successor, Dr. James Musgrave, bought it from the estate for £400 and pasted his own bookplate in the books over the Huggins bookplate. The Musgrave plate consisted of his arms combined with the Huggins arms, for he had married Charles Huggins's niece. Underneath was the Latin motto, "*Philosophemur*." This bookplate is still in the books, together with the numbers Dr. Musgrave put in them when he catalogued the library about 1760. It is this catalogue that Colonel de Villamil found. Dr. Musgrave died in 1778 and the library passed to his son, who took it to Barnsley Park. There it was recatalogued and renumbered. Though the original owner was then recognized, the Newton tradition was finally forgotten, and they were put away as old books of no particular value. There they remained until discovered by Colonel de Villamil.

357 Miles an Hour in the Air

Lindbergh's Activities—Coste's Great Flight—Contest for Safer Airplanes

GREAT BRITAIN retained the Schneider Trophy and established a new world speed record in the seaplane races held at Calshot, England, on Sept. 7. While more than a million people watched from the shore and from boats, six planes, three Italian and three English, raced over a circuit course above the Solent, the narrow strip of the English Channel between the Isle of Wight and the Hampshire shore. The contest was both a thrilling sight to spectators and, as Prime Minister MacDonald hoped it would be, "a great sporting event," of no small importance in the progress of aviation.

It was Flying Officer Henry R. D. Waghorn who won for England in a tiny blue and silver supermarine Rolls Royce seaplane, which dove from a height of 1,000 feet to the starting point, tore around the course seven times, banking vertically at the turn, and maintained an average speed of 328.63 miles per hour. Warrant Officer Tomaso Dal Molin of the Italian team won second place with an average of 284.2 miles an hour in a two-year-old Macchi plane. The Italians had, however, been badly handicapped by the wreck of their fastest plane and the death of their crack pilot, Captain Giuseppe Motta, who crashed on Lake Garda on Aug. 22.

Flying Officer Waghorn's record, though it clinched the victory, was, however, not the highest speed achieved that day. Flying Officer Richard Atcherley, the youngest and most daring member of the British team, averaged 331.75 miles per hour for two laps (100 kilometers), but was disqualified for wandering off the course. This mishap was caused by the loss of his goggles, blown away by the wind, a most dan-

gerous situation for a flier traveling at such a terrific speed.

No serious casualties marred the event, although two Italian fliers also escaped by narrow margins. Lieutenant Cadringer was blinded by smoke from the exhaust of his new Macchi plane and made a forced landing, and a broken waterpipe caused Lieutenant Monti to be badly scalded, though he came down safely. The name of the United States appearing on the scoreboard testified to the disappointed hope of Lieutenant Alford J. Williams, American naval aviator, to represent this country in the race. On Aug. 13 he announced his decision to compete, but his Mercury plane with its two Packard X engines repeatedly failed to respond to speed tests and the idea had to be abandoned.

During the week after the Schneider Trophy races, the British team, dissatisfied with their own record, set out to break it on a straightaway course. On a 3-kilometer course over Southampton Water the supermarine Rolls Royce plane which had triumphed in the race set a new average speed of 355.8 miles on Sept. 10. This time the pilot was Squadron Leader Augustus Orlebar. But this record, too, was destined to be broken. Two days later Orlebar reached an average speed of 357.7 miles per hour in the same small blue plane, and there the record for speed at which any human being has ever traveled was allowed to rest.

To those who watched these flights, the phenomenal speed of the planes was evidenced in two ways. First there was the difficulty of following with the naked eye the speck in the sky as it emerged from the blue, roared overhead and disappeared again in no time. Compared with the rocket-like swoop

of the racer the progress of an ordinary plane was like the casual meandering of a bluebottle on a ceiling. The other symptom of speed was the astounding roar of the engine, which suddenly grew to a deafening volume as the plane flashed by and receded with equal suddenness.

Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh has added another chapter to his history of aerial development. During the last month he has blazed the way for a new airline passenger and mail service from Miami, Fla., to the cities on the shores of the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico. On Sept. 19, flying as a regular commercial air pilot and carrying in his plane his first paying passengers, he left Miami with mail for Central and South American ports. On Sept. 21 he left Santiago, Cuba, and landed at San Juan, Porto Rico, having kept so closely to schedule that, in spite of stops at Santo Domingo and Port au Prince, he arrived at the airport exactly one minute late. The next leg of the journey landed the aerial travelers at Port of Spain, Trinidad, opening a new course for the airways, whose route had formerly ended at San Juan. In the course of the day's flight he made airmail stops at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; St. John, Antigua, and Port Castries, St. Lucia. On the 23d, Colonel Lindbergh's party reached Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, the last stop on their route. From there the party planned to make a return trip, stopping at other South American cities. This return flight started on Sept. 25, when Colonel Lindbergh returned to Port of Spain, whence he went to Maracay, Venezuela; Baranquilla, Colombia; Cristobal, Canal Zone, and finally to Balboa, where he had hoped to spend several days hunting and fishing. This, however, was abandoned, and on Oct. 2 the plane flew to Managua and Nicaragua and then to Guatemala City. On Oct. 7 and 8 Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute and accompanied by archaeological experts, made the first of a series of exploration trips over the Maya ruins of Yucatan. Much of

the territory covered had never before been seen by white men. On Oct. 9, Colonel Lindbergh returned to Miami, completing his trip.

A new long-distance non-stop record in aviation has been made by the French pilot, Captain Dieudonné Coste, who, with his mechanic, flew from Le Bourget, the airport of Paris, to Tsitsihar, northeast of Harbin, Manchuria, a distance of 6,158 miles. Coste left Le Bourget on Sept. 27, and on Oct. 6 it was reported officially that the plane had come down in Manchuria with all its fuel gone. The previous long-distance non-stop record was held by two Italian fliers who flew from Rome to Brazil in the Summer of 1928, a distance of 4,358 miles.

A contest that may have a profound influence on the future of aviation has been under way for the past two years and comes to a conclusion with the award of the \$100,000 prize some time in November. It is the Daniel Guggenheim Safe-Aircraft Competition for the avowed purpose of encouraging manufacturers and inventors to produce a safer airplane than those that now ply our airways. The requirements which the planes must pass are so drastic that an ordinary airplane cannot meet them. But they are designed to insure extraordinarily safe operation of any plane that can meet them.

In the Antarctic the Byrd expedition was beginning to come out of its Winter's hibernation. On Sept. 22 the members of the expedition began to uncover planes from their snow-built hangars, and to dig passages through the snow-drifts. Dog-teams are getting into harness, and it was hoped that within the month the men would be able to begin journeys of exploration over the snow. It is doubtful whether it will be possible to do any flying until December, when the Antarctic Summer really sets in. At Dundin, N. Z., the expedition's boats, the Eleanor Bolling and the City of New York, are being overhauled in preparation for sailing through the Barrier to the Byrd camp.

Anglo-American Agreement on Naval Disarmament

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

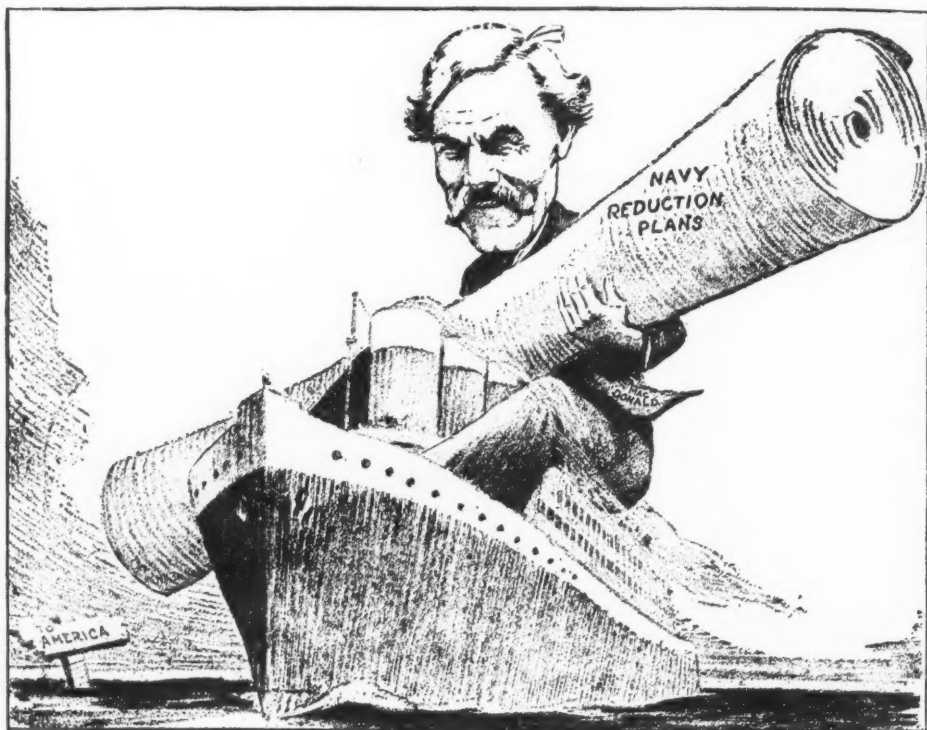
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE MONTHS of September and October, 1929, are certain to be noteworthy ones in the history of the contest for disarmament and for world peace; and this not alone in consequence of the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington, freighted with significance as that occasion was. Of equal importance was the session of the Assembly which took final action on the protocol embodying the Root formula designed to facilitate the entry of the United States into the World Court, which initiated the measures designed to close the "gap in the covenant" by assimilating to it the idea of the renunciation of war contained in the Pact of Paris, and which further developed the plans for a Pan-European confederation. The month of September witnessed, too, the beginning of the evacuation of the Rhineland by the allied forces, and the first week in October the meeting of the committee on the organization of the International Bank.

Against these positive gains must be set the death of Stresemann, an irreparable loss. His leadership in the organization and direction of the *Volks-partei* (People's party), in the reorganization of Germany after the tragic events of the Ruhr, in the negotiations which accompanied the Dawes settlement, and in those which resulted in the entry of Germany into the League, were all directed to a single end—the rehabilitation of Germany. That accomplished, he turned his great energy and ability toward the establishment of peace. He was the architect of Locarno, and from that time on worked

hand in hand with Briand. The agreements at Thoiry could not be consummated, but they had their fruition later in the Young plan. To him Germany owes the final liberation of the Rhineland and the determination of her reparation obligations. His last great speech was in support of Briand's plan for a European union. He died for his country more heroically than if he had fallen on the battlefield, and he will live in history as the most constructive German statesman since Bismarck.

The visit of Ramsay MacDonald was a stroke of genius. The course of political events is determined very largely by sentiment. Realities are back of them, of course, but, particularly in the field of international relations, the questions at issue are too intricate to be generally understood, and, except in times of crises, awaken little interest. The public mind is generally parochial and unintelligent, and the statesman who is dependent on it must move very cautiously lest he arouse antagonisms difficult to control. Nothing can be of greater assistance to him in his attempts to organize international security and peace than events that appeal to the popular imagination and create an atmosphere of good-will. The negotiations that resulted in the Pact of Paris were of this character. From a legalistic standpoint the pact meant very little, but it is becoming increasingly evident that since the adoption of the covenant no single event has been of such importance. Its idealism has fired the imagination and created a demand and a hope for its further development.



THE REDUCTION "SAIL"

—The New York Times

The conference between Mr. Hoover and Mr. MacDonald on Sunday, Oct. 6, at the camp in the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia had the same spectacular character. Quite possibly the agreements that were reached might have been concluded through ordinary diplomatic channels, but politically they would have had only a fraction of their present value. Mr. MacDonald's voyage and the visit to Washington was a pageant, carefully planned and faultlessly executed, designed to cultivate good-will between the two great English-speaking nations. Everything possible was done to assure the rest of the world that nothing in the nature of an alliance was contemplated, but only so much of cooperation as would facilitate the work of the coming disarmament conference and the implementing of the Pact of Paris.

The ground had been carefully prepared. The conferences between Ambassador Dawes and Mr. MacDonald and

with the representatives of the other nations involved, which have been going on for many weeks both in London and in Washington, have already been discussed. Substantial agreement had been reached, as was reported in the October number, as to the naval program and as to what is to constitute parity. Arrangements had been made for the calling of a five-power naval conference in January, which will be preliminary to a later session of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament. Quite likely everything that was discussed in Washington and on the Rapidan had previously been covered in the conversations with Mr. Dawes. When Mr. MacDonald boarded the *Berengaria* on Sept. 27 he had with him, to a degree very unusual in time of peace, the support, without regard to party lines, not only of Great Britain but of all the members of the British Commonwealth. His final statement regarding his plans did much to soothe

the irritation of the French newspapers at what they saw as an attempt to conclude an agreement which would later be presented to them as a *fait accompli* for their acceptance. On his arrival, Mr. MacDonald's speech in New York was broadcast throughout this country and in England, and its clear-sighted idealism met with an unmistakable response. As a result of the conversations of Mr. Hoover and Mr. MacDonald at the Presidential camp, invitations to the Five-Power Conference, which had been prepared in collaboration with our State Department before Mr. MacDonald left England, were issued by the British Foreign Office on Oct. 8. (This and other documentary texts will be found at the end of this article.)

In our enthusiasm over the Anglo-American agreement we must not lose sight of the fact that, so far as disarmament is concerned, it is only one stage in a journey that is still long and difficult. In the Five-Power Conference other national interests and aspirations must be molded with ours into a single system. That the ratios of the Washington conference cannot be generally applied to cruisers, submarines and destroyers seems certain. It is even more evident that the expressed desire, both of America and Great Britain, that the submarine should be abandoned, will be bitterly and successfully opposed by France, Italy and Japan. The submarine is, so they say, the poor nation's proper weapon, and its effectiveness was amply demonstrated during the great war. France has today an aggregate tonnage of these vessels, built or authorized, amounting to 89,155; Great Britain has 70,910; the United States 89,127, and Japan 80,007. In other words, France is stronger than Great Britain in an arm of prime importance, and she is not likely to yield this advantage. Facing Italy as she does on the Mediterranean and Great Britain on the Atlantic, she clings to her belief that her security requires that she must have on both seas an "adequate" navy, by which she means equality with Italy

on the Mediterranean, plus a strong force on the Atlantic. Not unnaturally Italy objects to this, and will urge that her tonnage must be as great as that of France. It seems likely that, so far as cruisers and destroyers are concerned, Japan will admit the application of the 5-5-3 ratio, though she may think it necessary, as a matter of prestige, to ask for a slight increase. She would have been glad, so it is said, had Anglo-American parity been established at a lower level. Submarines are another matter, and she is likely to resist the application of the formula to this type of vessel and to insist on parity.

There is a growing feeling on both sides of the ocean that the interests of the taxpayer can most easily and satisfactorily be met by the total abolition of capital ships. They are terribly expensive, costing upward of \$25,000,000 each, and their upkeep is equally burdensome. Some one has estimated that the operating costs of a large battleship amount to about \$500 a minute. There is a growing body of



"SEPTEMBER MORN," WITH
A DIFFERENCE

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald left for America this month in order to complete with Mr. Hoover the details of the navy cut

—Glasgow Bulletin

technical opinion which holds that, in view of the effectiveness of aircraft bombing and of coast defense artillery, these great vessels are of doubtful value. Certainly if no nation had any, none would be needed. As a matter of fact, not a single vessel of this class is now under construction. The program established by the Washington conference calls for the replacement of a number between 1931 and 1936, and unless something is done about it, some of them will doubtless be built. It is perhaps too much to expect that those we have will be scrapped, even though they cost a large amount of money and serve no useful purpose, but there is ground for hope that replacements will be delayed and that they may eventually be abolished.

The British and American delegates at the Five-Power Conference will be asked some very troublesome questions by the French. "How is it," they will say, "in view of President Hoover's firmly expressed statement that we must have reduction rather than limitation of armament, that the agreements you have made, so far from bringing about a reduction, actually provide for an increase in the American navy beyond the present program? How can you expect us to reduce our land establishments so long as you increase those on the sea?" The answer to the first of these questions is obvious, but it will not satisfy the French. At the Geneva Three-Power Conference the British Admiralty stated that their minimum necessities required seventy cruisers. The present government has induced them to reduce this number to fifty, and this is as far, under present conditions, as they dare to go. Public sentiment in this country requires parity, and we must, consequently, build to the British level. There is a hope, faint though real, that when the five powers assemble, something may happen to make possible a further reduction, if not at the coming conference, then at the meeting of the Preparatory Commission, or at the general disarmament conference which is to follow.



READY FOR THE SPLASH
—Rochester Times-Union

The action of Lord Cecil, in serving notice on France that the present British Government refuses to be bound by the agreement of its predecessor to cease to press the question of trained reserves and of war material, is giving that nation a good deal of concern, for it strikes at the root of the military hegemony over Europe that she gained as a result of the war. Undoubtedly France will resist very vigorously any attempt to interfere with the system of conscription, but that some concession on her part is necessary, if land disarmament is to be other than a farce, is sufficiently obvious. The rivalry between France and Italy, the question of the Polish boundaries and of those of Hungary, the perennial conflict in the Balkans, to say nothing of the fear of Russia, makes the whole subject of land disarmament a very complex and difficult one.

Every phase of disarmament is linked inevitably with the question of security. If war is no longer to be an instrument of national policy and if disputes of every kind are to be settled by pacific means, obviously large armaments are unnecessary; and it is

equally obvious that the covenant of the League should be revised to meet the new situation. It was this that motivated the amendments offered to the Assembly's Committee on Juridical Affairs on Sept. 17 by Sir Cecil Hurst. These suggestions provide for the deletion in Article XII of the phrase permitting a resort to war after three months following the award of arbitrators or a report of the Council; for the elimination of the clause in Article XIII reading, "and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith"; for the substitution in Article XIV of the words "that they will not resort to any action incompatible with the terms adopted by the report of the Council" for the words "that they will not go to war"; and, lastly, for the addition to the sentence following the words "without resort to war." The whole question will be studied during the coming year and will be discussed at the meeting of the Assembly in 1930.

There is no escaping the fact that our failure, together with that of Soviet Russia, to join the League is a most serious obstacle to the proper or-

ganization of peace. So long as we are outside, there will always be uncertainty as to what, under given conditions, we will do. We are bound by none of the rules that the other nations have accepted; and we may at some time assert our position by action which will seriously compromise the whole system. Our cooperation with the League is steadily becoming more active, and it may be that some formula can be found, so that, if we continue to remain outside, this uncertainty will be removed. So long as we do not, the League nations hesitate to enter on agreements that they would quite willingly accept could they be sure of our action.

At the time this is written, the United States has not signed the protocol containing the Root formula regarding advisory opinions drawn in order to satisfy the conditions laid down by the Senate for our entry into the World Court. Secretary Stimson has, however, stated that the administration approves of it, and it is likely that the formalities can be concluded so that final action can be taken by the Senate in December.

The Invitation to the Naval Disarmament Conference

THE following is the text of the British note, signed by Arthur Henderson, British Foreign Secretary, which was handed to Ambassador Dawes in London on Oct. 7:

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith copies of the notes which I am today addressing to the French, Italian and Japanese Ambassadors in London inviting the French, Italian and Japanese Governments to participate in a five-power conference to deal with the question of naval disarmament, which it is proposed to hold in London in the latter part of January next.

As I understand that the Government of the United States concurs in the terms of the enclosed notes, I shall be grateful if your Excellency will be so good as to confirm my impression that they will find it possible to participate in the conference above mentioned.

The following is the text of the identical note, signed by Mr. Henderson, which was delivered to the French, Italian and Japanese Ambassadors in London:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the informal conversations on the subject of naval disarmament which have been proceeding in London during the last three months between the Prime Minister and the Ambassador of the United States have now reached a stage at which it is possible to say that there is no point outstanding of such serious importance as to prevent an agreement.

From time to time the Prime Minister has notified your Excellency of the progress made in these discussions, and I now have the honor to state that provisional and informal agreement has been reached on the following principles:

1. The conversations have been one of the results of the treaty for the renunciation of war signed at Paris in 1928, which brought about a realignment of our national attitudes on the subject of security in consequence of the provision that war should not be used as an instrument of national policy in the relations of nations one to another. Therefore the peace pact has been regarded as the starting point of agreement.

2. It has been agreed to adopt the principle of parity in each of the several categories and that such parity shall be reached by Dec. 31, 1936. Consultation between his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and his Majesty's Government in the Dominions has taken place, and it is contemplated that the program of parity on the British side should be related to naval forces of the parts of the Empire.

3. The question of battleship strength was also touched upon during the conversations, and it has been agreed in these conversations that subject to the assent of other signatory powers it would be desirable to reconsider the battleship replacement programs provided for in the Washington treaty of 1922, with the view of diminishing the amount of replacement construction implied under that treaty.

4. Since both the Government of the United States and his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom adhere to the attitude that they have publicly adopted in regard to the desirability of securing the total abolition of the submarine, this matter hardly gave rise to discussion during the recent conversations. They recognize, however, that no final settlement on this subject can be reached except in conference with the other naval powers.

In view of the scope of these discussions both governments consider it most desirable that a conference should be summoned to consider the categories not covered by the Washington treaty and to arrange for and deal with the questions covered by the second paragraph of Article 21 of that treaty. It is our earnest hope that the [blank] Government will agree to the desirability of such a conference. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States are in accord that such a conference should be held in London at the beginning of the third week of January, 1930, and it is hoped that the [blank] Government will be willing to appoint representatives to attend it.

A similar invitation is being addressed to the governments of [blank], and the United States and his Majesty's Governments in the Dominions are being asked to appoint representatives to take part in the conference. I should be grateful if your Excellency would cause the above invitation to be addressed to the [blank] Government.

In the same way as the two governments have kept your Excellency informally *au courant* of the recent discussions, so now his Majesty's Government will be willing, in the interval before the proposed conference, to continue informal conversations with your Excellency on any points which may require elucidation. The importance of reviewing the whole naval situation at an early date is so vital in the interest of general disarmament that I trust that your Excellency's Government will see their way to accept this invitation and that date proposed will be agreeable to them.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom propose to communicate to you in due course their views as to the subjects which they think should be discussed at the conference, and will be glad to receive a corresponding communication from the [blank] Government.

It is hoped that at this conference the



UNCLE SAM, OF EUROPE
—Brooklyn Daily Eagle

principal naval powers may be successful in reaching agreement. I should like to emphasize that his Majesty's Government have discovered no inclination in any quarter to set up new machinery for dealing with the naval disarmament question.

On the contrary, it is hoped that by this means a text can be elaborated which will facilitate the task of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission and of the subsequent general disarmament conference.

Joint Statement of the President and the Prime Minister

IN an announcement issued from the White House on Oct. 9, referring to the termination of the British Prime Minister's visit, there was embodied the following joint statement of President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald:

During the last few days we have had an opportunity, in the informal talks in which we have engaged, not only to review the conversations on a naval agreement which have been carried on during this Summer between us, but also to discuss some of the more important means by which the moral force of our countries can be exerted for peace.

We have been guided by the double hope of settling our own differences on naval matters and so establishing unclouded good-will, candor and confidence between us, and also of contributing something to the solution of the problem of peace in which all other nations are interested and which calls for their co-operation.

In signing the Paris Peace Pact, fifty-six nations have declared that war shall not be used as an instrument of national policy. We have agreed that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means. Both our governments resolve to accept the peace pact not only as a declaration of good intentions but as a positive obligation to direct national policy in accordance with its pledge.

The part of each of our governments in the promotion of world peace will be different, as one will never consent to become entangled in European diplomacy and the other is resolved to pursue a policy of active cooperation with its European neighbors; but each of our governments will direct its thoughts and influence toward securing and maintaining the peace of the world.

Our conversations have been largely confined to the mutual relations of the two countries in the light of the situation created by the signing of the peace pact.

Therefore, in a new and reinforced sense, the two governments not only declare that war between them is unthinkable but that distrusts and suspicions arising from doubts and fears which may have been justified before the peace pact must now cease to influence national policy. We approach old historical problems from a new angle and in a new atmosphere.

On the assumption that war between us is banished and that conflicts between our military and naval forces cannot take place, these problems have changed their meaning and character, and their solution, in ways satisfactory to both countries, has become possible. We have agreed that those questions should become the subject of active consideration between us. They involve important technical matters requiring detailed study. One of the hopeful results of the visit, which is now terminating officially, has been that our two governments will begin conversations upon them following the same method as that which has been pursued during the Summer in London.

The exchange of views on naval reduction has brought the two nations so close to agreement that the obstacles in previous conferences arising out of Anglo-American disagreements seem now substantially removed. We have kept the nations which took part in the Washington Naval Conference of 1922 informed of the progress of our conversations and we have now proposed to them that we should all meet together and try to come to a common agreement which would justify each in making substantial naval reductions.

An agreement on naval armaments cannot be completed without the cooperation of other naval powers, and both of us feel sure that, by the same free and candid discussion of needs which has characterized our conversations, such mutual understandings will be reached as will make naval agreement next January possible, and thus remove this serious ob-

stacle to the progress of world disarmament. Between now and the meeting of the proposed conference in January, our governments will continue conversations with the other powers concerned, in order to remove as many difficulties as possible before the official and formal negotiations open.

In view of the security afforded by the peace pact, we have been able to end, we trust forever, all competitive building between ourselves, with the risk of war and the waste of public money involved, by agreeing to a parity of fleets, category by category. Success with the coming conference will result in a large decrease in the naval equipment of the world, and, what is equally important, the reduction of prospective programs of construction which would otherwise produce competitive building to an indefinite amount.

We hope and believe that the steps we have taken will be warmly welcomed by the people whom we represent as a substantial contribution to the efforts universally made by all nations to gain security for peace—not by military organization but by peaceful means rooted in public opinion and enforced by a sense of justice in the civilized world.

The joint statement, issued on Oct. 9 by President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald, was supplemented the same evening by the following communication to the press, issued by Mr.

MacDonald at the British Embassy:

I have achieved more than I hoped. The one thing that was ever possible from a short visit like this was to get into personal contact with the President and to get it definitely stated in a common pronouncement that Anglo-American policy would be conducted on the assumption that not only was war between us impossible but that our navies would not come into conflict with each other.

We have both reiterated our adhesion to the pact of peace, and, moreover, have announced to the world that we are going to apply it in our practical policy. We have both agreed constantly to keep the pact in front of us and to use it for the purpose of coming to an agreement on subjects which have defied agreement up to now.

In consequence of that, I take with me to London a series of questions, all of which are now to be the subject of study by the various departments concerned and of consideration between the Dominions and ourselves, with the object of coming to agreements upon them.

All this has been arrived at, not for the purpose of dividing America and ourselves from the rest of the world, but rather, as is indicated in an early paragraph, to enable each of us to be more effective than ever in cooperating with other nations to establish the security of peace.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

THE Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations, which sat at Geneva from September 2 to 25, was undoubtedly the most important annual meeting held by the League during its first ten years. Its features were the largest attendance on record, comprising all but one of the fifty-four States members and the most important group of statesmen yet brought together, including nine Prime Ministers and twenty Foreign Ministers; and incomparably the widest range of international subjects up to now brought under discussion.

The British opened up a new question on the relations of the Kellogg pact and the covenant, the French another on the United States of Europe, the Chinese a third on the revision of treaties, the Finns a fourth on the Permanent Court as a court of review, the Norwegians, Danes and Poles a fifth on the International Bank, and others the idea of an international customs truce.

Any remaining contention that the League is a purely European affair was decisively controverted at this session. It was not without significance that the

Assembly was presided over by a Salvadoran and the Council by a Persian. Also, the United States, though unrepresented, was prominent in many ways, not only as regards its proposal for membership in the World Court but also in connection with disarmament, economics, ratification of the slavery and imports restrictions conventions, the International Bank and other matters. Latin America was represented more fully than ever before, all member States except Argentina being present, Peru, Bolivia and Honduras for the first time for several years. Chile and Peru, who came to a bitter disagreement over the Tacna-Arica dispute in the 1921 Assembly, deposited their agreement for registration by the League, and Bolivia requested a special League commission to reorganize its health service. China, which has not been largely represented during the past troubled years, had on hand a delegation of over a score, including the Minister in Washington; provided a subject of profound interest in connection with the revision of treaties, and also invited a commission to advise on health administration. The Indian delegation was headed by a native of India for the first time, and the Dutch delegation, also for the first time, contained a native from the 40,000,000 people in the Dutch Indies. Two general commissions to the Far East advanced along their way, that on opium smoking leaving during the session for a nine months' investigation of all Far Eastern countries, including the Philippines, and that for the extension to the Far East of the inquiry into the traffic in women and children being formally endorsed on all sides. Finally, from Africa, Liberia requested a commission to study charges made that slavery exists in that country, one member to be appointed by Liberia, one by the United States and one by the League.

Probably the most important single development was the practical fulfillment of Mr. MacDonald's hope that the meeting might be ranked as the "Optional Clause Assembly." No fewer than fifteen nations formally signed

the undertaking to submit to the court any dispute of a legal character concerning the interpretation of a treaty, any point of international law, any fact which, if established, would constitute the rupture of an international engagement, or the nature and scope of the reparations due for the rupture thereof. The extension thus given to the reign of law in international life is incalculable. The new signatories added to the eighteen which had previously signed include Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, India, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Latvia, Nicaragua, Peru and Siam.

A further development took place also as regards the long-standing question of American membership in the court. The United States first broached this matter by a circular letter in 1926 notifying Senate ratification of the court protocol with certain reservations. A special conference of signatory States, which the United States declined to attend, formulated an agreement which was satisfactory in all but the single point of advisory opinions. There the matter rested till last March, when Secretary of State Kellogg again revived it in another circular letter suggesting negotiations to remove this remaining difficulty. The letter was referred to a committee of jurists then about to consider amendments to the protocol, and agreement was reached by them on a formula suggested by Elihu Root, who had been a member of the original committee which drafted the court statute and who was also a member of this new committee. This formula was known to have had the endorsement of President Coolidge, Secretary Hoover and the leading Senators. When it came before a second conference of signatory States, it drew from Secretary of State Stimson the statement that "it would effectively meet the objections represented in the reservations of the United States Senate and would constitute a satisfactory basis for the adherence of the United States * * * and that after the draft protocol has been accepted by the States

signatory * * * he will request the President for the authority to sign and will recommend that it be submitted to the Senate for its consent to ratification." With this precise engagement before it, the conference accepted the protocol without change of a word, and immediately opened it for signature, which was given before the end of the Assembly by the unprecedented number of forty-eight nations. The next step rests with the fulfillment of the government's engagement, without which this immediate and complete action would never have taken place.

With the Pact of Paris engaging the nations not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy, the British delegation introduced a resolution signed also by Belgium, Chile, Denmark, France and Italy, and paralleled by another from Peru, which aimed to remove from the Covenant the last remaining possibility of recourse to war. The British Foreign Secretary stated that he sought the removal of certain phrases in Articles 12, 13 and 15, which permitted recourse to war and which he thought out of line with the later obligations of the Paris agreement. The Assembly agreed on the appointment of a special committee of eleven to meet during the first quarter of 1930 and report to the next Assembly.

The Chinese delegation introduced a resolution for a committee to study the bringing into operation of Article 19 of the Covenant, which provides that "the Assembly may, from time to time, advise the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." This resolution was admittedly aimed at the "unequal treaties" in China, but also had wider repercussions, not only in recalling the attempt to apply it years ago in the Tacna-Arica affair, but also bringing under question the various peace treaties. While the committee was not agreed to, the principle was reaffirmed and the procedure agreed upon in case the article were invoked.

In the discussion on the present sta-

tus of the disarmament discussions and the work of the Preparatory Committee it was agreed that it was essential to accelerate the work and take the first steps toward fulfilling Article 8 of the Covenant. Viscount Cecil introduced a series of specific suggestions, which received both support and opposition, but the Assembly finally decided that, in view of the forthcoming naval discussions and the responsibilities of the Preparatory Commission, it had best, for the moment, confine itself to an urgent appeal for haste. The draft convention prepared by the Financial Committee for financial assistance to States victims of aggression was considered and improved, and the necessary steps taken for the submission of a revised project at the next session. The Assembly also approved in principle the German proposal for a model treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war and provided for a draft convention to be submitted during the year and reported to the next Assembly.

The most specific outcome of the Assembly's discussion of the world economic situation was the suggestion for a tariff truce for at least two years, during which no increase in tariffs should take place. This suggestion was endorsed on many sides as an immediately feasible way of improving international trade relations, and a series of steps were authorized to bring the nations into consultation by the first of next year.

The work of the Financial Committee, which has authorized loans totaling nearly \$400,000,000, was approved, with the understanding that the period of reconstruction is now nearly ended and the time come to turn to new subjects, such as the fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, which is now under study. The resolution introduced by the Norwegian, Danish and Polish delegations for some sort of connection between the proposed International Bank and the League of Nations was opposed by the reparations powers, including Germany, and, it was understood, American financial interests, on the ground that the bank was still in for-

mulation and quite outside the League interest. Finally it was agreed that the resolution would not be pressed.

The health work of the League received so unanimous an endorsement that its budget, which had been stabilized some years ago at a million francs, was increased 25 per cent in order to allow special extensions to Latin America and the Far East. The International Health Board has consolidated its grants to a total of nearly \$150,000 a year for the next five years.

The discussion on opium, says the report to the Assembly, "can be described without hesitation as one of the most important which has ever taken place in the Fifth Committee, if not the most important. * * * The result was the emergence for the first time in the history of the League of an agreement amongst the manufacturing countries as to the desirability of the limitation of manufacture to be secured by means of an international conference which would determine the total amount of narcotic drugs required to meet the legitimate medical and scientific needs of the world as well as the

quota to be allocated amongst the various manufacturing countries."

As regards the traffic in women and children, the Assembly expressed its satisfaction at the extension of the inquiry to the Far East and noted an increasing public opinion in favor of the abolition of licensed houses. As regards child welfare, it recommended for adoption the two conventions on the repatriation and assistance of minors abroad and noted the progress made in raising the age of consent and in the transformation of juvenile courts. With the idea of completely abolishing slavery and the slave trade, it took a series of measures in connection with the slavery convention, which was ratified during the year by the United States, and initiated a systematic campaign of information and action. Its refugee work, which has been of considerable importance, it decided to liquidate in a maximum period of ten years. * * *

Every supplementary credit was granted and the League budget increased over half a million francs above the estimate to the highest total yet reached, 28,210,000 francs.

THE UNITED STATES

The British Prime Minister in America

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

THE VISIT of James Ramsay MacDonald, British Prime Minister, to the United States during October was in every respect a happy and fortunate event. It was the first time that this country had ever received a head of the British Government. Not a single false note marred the atmosphere of cordiality which attended the Prime Minister wherever he went, an atmosphere inspired to no small degree by his warmth of feeling and evident sincerity.

On Oct. 4 the Berengaria, with the Prime Minister and his party on board, sailed up New York Harbor through the early morning mist. The reception

in New York, which conferred honorary citizenship upon the distinguished guest, was necessarily brief. From the City Hall ceremonies the party was taken to the Pennsylvania Station to entrain for Washington. Conspicuous in the whole procedure was the absence of ticker-tape and ballyhoo which have been the traditional features of New York receptions. Secretary of State Stimson and Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador, were on hand to greet Mr. MacDonald and escort him to Washington.

Mr. MacDonald's first call in Washington was on President Hoover at the White House, late that same afternoon.

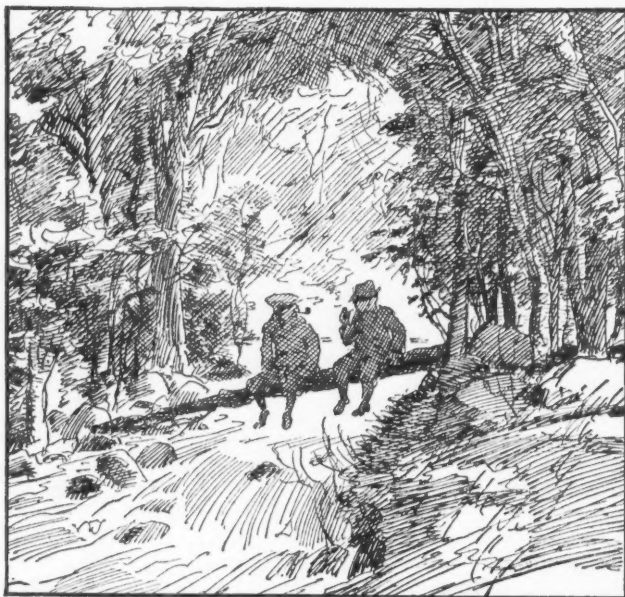
The first night was spent at the British Embassy and the next morning was occupied with a round of calls at the Capitol and the State Department. To achieve the main purpose of his visit—conversations with President Hoover on the forthcoming disarmament conference and the thorny problems of world peace—Mr. MacDonald then motored out to the rustic seclusion of the Hoover camp on the Rapidan River for the week-end. There the now famous conference took place, during which the President and the Prime Minister were said to have sat on a log and dangled their legs over the rapids—the picturesque value of which was not overlooked by the press. Nor was the richness of the situation lost on Mr. MacDonald, who, speaking before the Foreign Policy Association in New York, said:

But it was this informality, this laying all our cards upon the table, this coming close up to each other and talking as man to man, expressing our responsibilities to each other, metaphorically turning a log such as was portrayed and drawn by one of your cartoonists,

a log in the midst of smiling nature, prattling brooks and Autumn-tinted trees into a common seat of authority, I holding your President from falling in, he holding me from falling over, symbolizing the relationship that we were trying to establish and to keep on political matters.

On Monday, Oct. 7, Mr. MacDonald spoke before both houses of Congress. After each speech he stepped down from the rostrum to greet each legislator personally. Both galleries were packed with eminent onlookers, whose interest, until the Prime Minister entered, was centred on Miss Ishbel MacDonald, who was present to hear her father. A State dinner at the White House that evening included eighty-one of Washington's notables, and after it Mr. MacDonald and his daughter spent the night as the guests of the President and Mrs. Hoover. The Prime Minister occupied Tuesday and Wednesday, Oct. 8 and 9, in visits to the grave of Woodrow Wilson, to Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, the Canadian Embassy, Mount Vernon, Arlington and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

An innovation in diplomatic functions was the stag dinner given by Mr. Stimson in honor of Mr. MacDonald, to which—another departure from precedent—came the President. Next morning the British party bade good-bye to Washington and returned to New York, via Philadelphia, where Mr. MacDonald stopped to entertain at luncheon the doctors who had attended him during his last visit to America. On Oct. 11 the Prime Minister was the guest of honor and speaker at three functions tendered him by international organizations—the English-Speaking Union, the For-



PEACE

—The New York World

eign Policy Association and the Council on Foreign Relations. Monday, Oct. 14, saw the departure of the MacDonald party for Canada, where they were scheduled to visit Montreal, Toronto and Quebec before sailing for England on Oct. 25.

What benefit to the cause of naval reduction and world disarmament may have resulted from the Hoover-MacDonald conversations is discussed elsewhere in this magazine. Quite apart from this is the immeasurable value of the Prime Minister's visit purely as a gesture of friendship to the American people. And not an ounce of this value was withheld from the people. The press was, so far as this writer knows, unanimous in praise of Mr. MacDonald's personality, his dignity and his manifest sincerity. The public was able to tune in on several of his speeches, one of which was even broadcast across the Atlantic and clearly heard throughout England. The "talkies" gave thousands more an opportunity to see and hear him. Expressing the general feeling, one periodical said: "When the Prime Minister leaves he will have done much to change the whole attitude of the two peoples toward one another."

It is interesting to note with what care and emphasis Mr. MacDonald stressed his contacts with the members of our Congress during his few days in Washington. He visited both House and Senate, making the most important speech of his visit before the latter body. Conversations and conferences with individual Senators and Representatives also punctuated each day of Mr. MacDonald's stay. Among those with whom he spoke were Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Representative Porter, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; Senator Hale,



Just as though he were being starved to death
—The Detroit News

Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and Senator Moses.

THE SHEARER INVESTIGATION

The Senate inquiry into the activities of William B. Shearer, the "naval expert" who represented American shipping interests at the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1927 and (according to Shearer) in Washington during the passage of the cruiser bill, began on Sept. 20. The need for a thorough investigation was seen by Senator Borah and President Hoover when Mr. Shearer brought suit against three shipbuilding companies for \$256,000, which he claimed they owed him for past services. What these "services" were was the subject of greatest interest to the investigators, Senators Shortridge, Robinson and Allen.

Officers of the companies which had employed Shearer, the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, the New York



—The Boston Herald

Shipbuilding Company and the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, took the witness stand during the first five days of the hearings. Their testimony brought out the following facts: On Dec. 15, 1926, Shearer, at his own suggestion, was engaged by the three companies to "stimulate interest in the merchant marine" at a salary of \$7,500. On March 17, 1927, a meeting was held at which officers of the three companies, Clinton Bardo, president of the New York, Samuel W. Wakeman, vice president of the Bethlehem, and F. P. Palen, vice president of the Newport News shipbuilding companies commissioned Shearer to go to Geneva and "report his observations" of the Disarmament Conference for the sum of \$25,000. All agreements were verbal, and a large part of the payment was made in cash.

As the testimony proceeded it became clear that a serious misunderstanding had existed as to just what Shearer's activities at Geneva were to include, for the shipbuilders, one and all, insisted that they had hired Shearer as an expert merely to report to them developments of the conference by which they could be guided in planning for future building. They admitted, however, that they had not

taken the trouble to read all Shearer's numerous reports, and that what they had read had been "bunk." In short, they said, Mr. Shearer, as an observer, had been a disappointment and employing him had been most unwise, in view of his subsequent claims.

When Mr. Shearer took the stand on Sept. 30 he presented an entirely different picture of his mission. He said that his only purpose in attending the conference as representative of the shipbuilding interests was "to see that the United States would get out their side of the story at Geneva, that we would get a treaty of parity if possible, and, if it was not a treaty of parity, no treaty." Mr. Shearer's "side of the story" was that America did not obtain parity at the Washington Conference, and that the 1927 conference should rectify that inequality or fail.

Mr. Shearer claimed, moreover, that his interpretations of the negotiations given out to the press in Geneva had been the basis of reports sent to American newspapers by their Geneva correspondents. This was immediately and emphatically denied by the correspondents whom Shearer mentioned. Drew Pearson, a newspaper man, testified on Sept. 26 that Shearer had attempted to influence the American correspondents, but that his facts were highly colored with anti-British propaganda. Pearson further asserted that Shearer was frequently seen in conversation with the American naval experts, among whom there seemed to be an atmosphere "against the success of the conference." Pearson said that he had heard one of these, Rear Admiral J. M. Reeves, express the hope that the conference would fail.

The versions of Mr. Shearer's relation to the passage of the cruiser bill in 1928 were varied and conflicting. F. P. Palen testified that, although not employed to lobby in Washington for the cruiser bill, Shearer had received \$6,000 from him for "work on the merchant marine" between December, 1928, and March, 1929, when Shearer's services were definitely dispensed with. Finding that his work was no longer wanted,

Shearer wrote to Homer Ferguson, president of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, on March 27, claiming to have represented the company in the cruiser bill fight and taking credit to a large degree for the passage of the bill. To save the cruiser bill, which was in serious danger of defeat, according to Shearer, he produced a "secret British document" which was in his possession, had it photostated at the Navy Department and placed it in the hands of a United States Senator. And, continued the letter, "the press of this nation reflected the power of his voice when it referred to his speech for the cruisers as the greatest speech ever made in the United States for national defense; nor did that Senator hesitate to brand the opposition traitors."

The "secret British document" which was alleged to be so sensational that its contents were not revealed by the Senate committee during the British Prime Minister's visit to the United States was dubbed a joke, "a trivial piece of high-spirited nonsense" by S. K. Ratcliffe, a well-known English author, writing in the *London Observer* for Oct. 6. The "document" was written ten years ago, asserted Ratcliffe, by an unnamed Irishman, and printed in New York. It is a plan for the reconquest of America, written in a broadly satirical manner and intended as an obvious burlesque of the activities of British wartime propaganda agencies. A sample of its humorous vein is the following paragraph:

The cost of converting an American into a cofonist of his Majesty is now \$0.58. Our expenses we have met by a levy on the population. Some of the inhabitants we induced to pay by terror, particularly those of German extraction. Others we subjected to a tax, but the great mass of people pay peacefully and cheerfully their sum of moneys exchanged for education and amusement which we made obligatory for them.

Sir William Wiseman, head of the British Secret Service in the United States during the World War, was accused by Shearer of being the author of

this "document." Sir William denied knowing anything about the matter. This was but one of Mr. Shearer's sensational statements that were flatly denied. Another was his assertion that Charles M. Schwab had first suggested his employment by the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company at a meeting at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in New York. Mr. Schwab, chairman of the board of the Bethlehem Steel Company, testified on Sept. 21 that he did not remember ever having seen Shearer, did not know he had been employed by one of his subsidiary companies, and as soon as he found it out, had recommended his dismissal.

In an account of his career, which he furnished to the Senate committee, Shearer described himself as an inventor, naval expert and nationalist enthusiast. A report of him furnished by Scotland Yard, also read into the record, described him in lurid terms as a "notorious associate of international crooks, associated in betting transactions * * *, interested in gaming houses." Shearer called this report "an absolute lie." The hearings were temporarily suspended during the British Prime Minister's visit to the United States on account of the unsavory nature of the evidence.

Demand for a separate investigation of Washington lobbies in general resulted from the disclosure during the Shearer hearings that \$143,000 had been spent by the shipping interests to secure the passage of the Jones-White Merchant Marine act in 19th 3. On Oct. 1 the Caraway resolution¹² as passed designating the Judiciary Committee, of which Senator Norris is chairman, to make this investigation. All lobbying activities, including tariff, militarist and pacifist, were to be scrutinized, Senator Norris announced. He appointed Senators Caraway, Walsh of Montana, Borah, Blaine and Robinson of Indiana for this task.

THE TARIFF

Could Congress agree on a tariff bill at this special session, or even at the regular session convening in December?



THE SAME OLD TUG O' WAR
—Kendallville News-Sun

And if the Senate and House could ever come together from their widely divergent points of view, would a compromise bill receive the President's signature? Should the schedules under discussion in the Senate and in the Hawley bill passed by the House be scrapped entirely and a new start made? These were the serious questions which confronted Congress after seven months of hearings, caucuses and debate.

Developments in October added a third obstacle to those already causing difficulties. Disagreement between Senate and House as to schedules, and dissension within the Senate had been evident for some time. Disagreement between the Senate and the President now arose over the flexible clause, the means of adjusting tariff rates from time to time, in accordance with changing conditions of competition here and abroad. Briefly, the flexible clause, in force since the Fordney-McCumber bill of 1922 and retained both in the Hawley bill and in the Smoot bill under consideration by the Senate, provided that, on recommendation by the Tariff Commission, the President might proclaim revised rates within 50 per cent above or below those already in force. By a coalition of 34 Democrats and 13 insurgent Republicans, which resulted in a vote of 47 to 42, the Senate on Oct. 2 passed the Simmons amendment

transferring this power to Congress.

This was done in spite of a statement from Mr. Hoover on Sept. 24 declaring this Presidential power to be a "necessity in protection of public interest" and "one of the most progressive steps taken in tariff-making in all our history." Those who favored adjusting rates by legislation argued that the levying of revenue was the exclusive prerogative of Congress under the Constitution; that the Fordney-McCumber provision was a blind on the part of protectionists to enable the President to raise the rates. They pointed to the history of the last seven years, during which Presidents Harding and Coolidge had "flexed" the rates upward 32 times and downward only 5. Those who upheld the President cited the constitutionality of this executive power, upheld by the Supreme Court. They predicted that on each occasion when revision was recommended Congress would seize the opportunity for log-rolling and bargaining, as so deplorably evidenced in present and past tariff bills.

The passage of the Simmons amendment, however, by no means killed the flexible issue. The possibility still remained that in the joint conference with the House the Senators might find their amendment useful as a pawn in bargaining for reduced rates. It was also suggested that instead of two Democratic and three Republican Senators the conferees include one insurgent Republican, in which case the Simmons amendment would stand little chance of being abandoned. This could be accomplished if the Senate elected their conferees instead of allowing the Vice President to appoint them, a departure from precedent which was feasible in view of the Democratic-Insurgent majority in favor of the amendment. It was argued in the Senate that unless the conferees represented this majority another deadlock would ensue when the compromise bill was reported back to the Senate.

Mr. Hoover's statement on the flexible issue was his first expression of opinion on the tariff since he recom-

mended "limited revision" in his message to the special session last April. How far a President should try to influence legislation has long been a matter of dispute. Senator Borah, a vehement advocate of the Simmons amendment, deplored the President's interference in the tariff, but insisted that since he had entered the battle he must now share responsibility for the passage of a bill. "I ask from the floor of the Senate," said Mr. Borah, "that the President advise this body and advise the country, as he did with reference to the flexible tariff provision, whether he approves of these industrial schedules in this bill."

That United States customs officers should be mere customs officers and no longer literary critics and ethical arbiters was voted by the Senate on Oct. 11. The Cutting amendment to the tariff bill, passed on that date, eliminated the "obscene" book clause, a feature of tariff bills for many years. This clause empowered a customs official to forbid importation of any "obscene" book. Exclusion of treasonous literature, obscene paintings, photographs and lottery tickets was, however, still left to the discretion of customs officers.

The Federal Farm Board was finally confirmed by the Senate Agricultural Committee on Oct. 11 after several of its members had been questioned and sharply criticized by the committee. Chairman Legge, under cross-examination, defended the actions of the board, saying: "It took Congress eight years to pass farm legislation, and the board should be given a little more than two months to accomplish what is expected of it."

An extraordinarily large wheat surplus was reported by the Department of Agriculture on Oct. 8. The Farm Board maintained that it could not ease the situation by buying this wheat, since there was no place to store it. The predicament was aggravated by an appreciable decrease in exports to Europe.

Concentrating the prohibition enforcement agencies in the Department

of Justice was a reform which President Hoover advocated last June when he suggested that Congress appoint a joint committee to plan this reorganization. But four months went by and Congress did not act on the President's suggestion. Therefore, on Oct. 1 Mr. Hoover asked John McNab, a San Francisco lawyer, to draw up such a plan to be recommended to Congress.

The decision of the Philadelphia Court of Appeals that the buyer of intoxicants did not violate the Eighteenth Amendment precipitated a caustic debate in the Senate. Senator Shepard, co-author of the Volstead act, moved that the purchaser of liquor be held guilty as well as the seller. The Senate discussion showed that there was doubt in the minds of drys as well as wets whether making the law more stringent would help enforcement or make it harder.

Rioting and bloodshed continued during the past month to complicate the situation induced by the textile strikes in the South. Marion, N. C., was the scene on Oct. 2 of a battle between strikers and local police, which resulted in the death of five and the wounding of thirteen strikers. Two hundred National Guardsmen were rushed to Marion to restore order. As a result, Sheriff Oscar Atkins and fourteen others were accused of murder, and thirty-two workers were held on the charges of conspiracy, rebellion and resisting officers. The trial, which was under way at this writing, brought out the fact that there had been shooting on both sides, but had not determined thus far which side was the aggressor.

At Gastonia there were three new developments. The second trial of mill workers for the murder of Chief of Police Aderholt on June 7 opened on Sept. 30, the first having been declared a mistrial when one of the jurors went insane. This time nine of the defendants were freed and the remaining seven, all strike organizers, were tried on a charge which did not involve the death penalty.

On Sept. 14 anti-Communists tried to prevent a union rally. They fired a volley into a truck full of mill workers,

who were on their way to the rally, and killed Ella May Wiggins, 35-year-old textile hand. On the night of Sept. 18 Cleo Tesneair, a strike organizer, was dragged from his bed by three anti-Communist terrorizers, rushed across the State line and badly beaten up.

Governor Gardner of North Carolina had under consideration a sweeping investigation of the situation which led to the above series of outrages and possibly a general inquiry into the entire textile industry in the South. Meanwhile, the United Textile Workers of America and the National Textile Workers Union continued to compete in the work of unionizing Southern mill

workers. The former organization is an offshoot of the American Federation of Labor, the latter a Communist organization.

The appointment of Irwin Boyle Laughlin as Ambassador to Spain was announced at the White House on Oct. 9. Mr. Laughlin, a Pittsburgh steel magnate, has had a long diplomatic career, in the course of which he has been secretary to the embassies at London, Berlin, St. Petersburg and Peking. From 1924 to 1926 he was Minister to Greece. Harry F. Guggenheim was selected Ambassador to Cuba on Sept. 16. Mr. Guggenheim heads the fund for aeronautics which bears his name.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Bloodshed Marks Presidential Campaign In Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE PRESIDENTIAL campaign in Mexico that is due to terminate in a special Presidential election on Nov. 17 aroused more general interest in September than theretofore; also it was attended by serious disorders. A notable event in the campaign was the reception accorded on Sept. 15 to Pascual Ortiz Rubio, nominee of the Grand Revolutionary party, upon his return to Mexico City from a campaign tour of the country.

Two days later at Torreon, Coahuila, one man was killed and another wounded by shots fired at José Vasconcelos, nominee of the Anti-Re-electionist party. The charge that the Mexican Government was implicated in the alleged attempt to assassinate Vasconcelos at Torreon was made in a statement issued over the signature of Vasconcelos on Sept. 18 and also in statements made by speakers at a Vasconcelos rally held the same night in Mexico City. At the rally speakers specifi-

cally charged Governor León of Chihuahua with having hired twenty-five men to kill Vasconcelos. Clashes in the heart of Mexico City on the night of Sept. 20 between parading supporters of Vasconcelos and Rubio enthusiasts resulted in the death of three men and the wounding of four others.

After police reserves had quelled the disturbance and restored order, President Portes Gil personally intervened to suppress disorder in general. By him police and military authorities were instructed to guarantee the rights of all parties and to arrest those responsible for disorders, regardless of their political affiliations. Two days later (Sept. 22) President Portes Gil took cognizance of the rumors that persons concerned in the clashes of Sept. 20 were government officials, these rumors, he stated, being based upon the fact "that an automobile, the property of Deputy Teodoro Villegas, was being operated around the square where the sangui-

nary events occurred." The President reiterated the necessity of the authorities "to find out exactly who was responsible."

Reports of the death of 130 persons and the wounding of several hundred in fighting connected with municipal elections throughout the State of Vera Cruz on Sept. 22 were received in Mexico City on Sept. 24. The reports were without official confirmation.

Mexico's Budget Commission, which has been working on the 1930 national budget, completed its labors and made public its report early in September. Estimated income from all sources is 287,000,000 pesos (\$143,000,000). Based upon conferences with department heads, the recommendation was made that expenses be limited strictly to 280,000,000 pesos, thus leaving a surplus of 7,000,000 pesos. Notable items of expense include 27,000,000 pesos for service on the internal and foreign debts, as compared with 34,000,000 for the same item in 1929; 80,000,000 for the Ministry of War and Marine, as compared with 84,300,000 for 1929; 40,000,000 for the Ministry of Communications, as compared with approximately 37,000,000 during 1929, and 40,000,000 pesos for public education, as compared with approximately 37,000,000 pesos during the current year. Since 1925 appropriations for public education have increased nearly 9,000,000 pesos.

The government's program of public instruction as outlined to the National Teachers' Convention in Mexico City on Sept. 21, by Minister of Public Instruction Ezequiel Padilla, includes the following aims: Wiping out of illiteracy in order to fit the working classes to resist abuses by "big industry;" war on religious fanaticism; defense of freedom of thought and doctrine; intensification of physical training and development of sports; an offensive campaign against alcoholism, and concentration on the awakening of a spirit of optimism in the people.

The acceptance by former President Calles of the invitation of the directors of the national railways to undertake the financial reorganization of the sys-

tem was formally announced in September. Señor Calles, who is at present recuperating in Europe, requested the cooperation of Luis Montes de Oca, Minister of Finance, and of the engineer, Javier Sánchez Mejorada, Minister of Communications.

A total of 182 petitions from capital and labor circles in which were set forth objections, criticisms and general comments upon the proposed new labor code had been received by the Chamber of Deputies up to Sept. 22. Changes in 143 of the 639 articles composing the law are sought by the various petitions. Objections to the law were drawn up by twenty-seven chambers of commerce and similar organizations throughout the country. Support for the passage of the law was expressed in a demonstration of 6,000 workers who paraded the streets of the capital on Sept. 22. In view of rumors that industries were planning to close down in case President Portes Gil's projected labor code reaches the statute book, *El Excelsior* of Mexico City on Sept. 25 asked Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor De Negri the following question: "Should Mexico, as a State, take charge of the industrial exploitation of the Republic, as against private enterprise?" The Minister is reported to have qualified his answer, replying: "Yes, not precisely against private enterprise, but when private enterprise ceases operations in its private interests, which the State should not permit, due to the damage the national economy would suffer from such stoppages." Señor De Negri's observations, which are assumed to be in harmony with those of President Portes Gil, are contrary to declarations regarding Mexico's internal policy as made in the past few years.

The celebration of the 119th anniversary of Mexico's independence from Spain on Sept. 16 was unusually colorful and elaborate in the Mexican capital. The chief event was the review by President Portes Gil of upward of 20,000 picked troops of all arms who marched through the streets in what was authoritatively characterized as

the biggest military parade in Mexico City in thirty years.

Recognition of the Federal Government's supremacy and authority in questions relating to religious worship and of its exclusive right to allocate churches was demanded of all governors, State legislatures and municipal authorities in a circular issued by the Ministry of the Interior and made public on Sept. 3.

Mgr. Pascual Díaz was formally installed as Archbishop of Mexico in a ceremony held at the shrine of Guadalupe on Sept. 17.

The First Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, with delegates from fifteen American countries, opened its sessions at Mexico City on Sept. 17.

NICARAGUA—Unqualified endorsement of United States policy in Nicaragua was voiced by President Moncada in responding to a toast at a reception given at the International Club in Managua on Sept. 16 by the Salvadorean Chargé d'Affaires in honor of Nicaraguan independence. The President said, in part:

The United States of America has not come here to conquer. It has come to aid in establishing our liberty and sovereignty. * * * The United States is our support. Its work is for liberty and popular government, and I, myself, as President of Nicaragua, believing that all modern diplomacy should be expressed openly, solemnly declare that Nicaraguan sovereignty still exists and that this temporary cooperation of the United States was given in order to permit a free and fair election in Nicaragua.

CUBA—An affidavit by Joseph E. Barlow, the aged American who was thrown into prison late in August, and whose case, involving as it does the question of the protection of American property rights in Cuba, is being studied by both the United States Department of State and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was filed with the Department of State at Washington on Sept. 5. In his affidavit Mr. Barlow gives a harrowing account of

his alleged treatment by Cuban prison officials.

Charges that Cuba was experiencing a "reign of terror" and other implications of misgovernment that are reported to have been placed before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee were denied in a joint statement issued at New York on Sept. 19 in behalf of four Associated Press newspapers in Havana. The statement emphasized that "the press is free in Cuba"; that "under the administration of President Gerardo Machado, Cuba is making most rapid progress"; that, "far from maintaining a dictatorship, President Machado has won the esteem of the Cuban people," and that "the Machado Administration has made life and property safe in Cuba."

The above statement was decried in a statement issued at New York on Sept. 21 by Dr. Rafael Iturralde, former Governor of the Cuban province of Matanzas. As proof that "there has been no freedom of the press during the entire Machado Administration," Dr. Iturralde named four chief editors of Cuban papers who, he alleged, had "been assassinated during that period under mysterious circumstances after campaigns unfavorable to the government." He added: "As to political conditions in Cuba, no one can deny that Machado re-elected himself without opposition, that no election has been held for Congressmen now holding office, and that hundreds of citizens have been murdered while widespread terrorism prevails. The reports of the American Federation of Labor and the Foreign Policy Association are definitely conclusive on these points."

Claims of American citizens in Cuba against the Cuban Government were discussed on Sept. 25, when Secretary of State Stimson and other officials of the Department of State appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At the conclusion of the session Chairman Borah of the committee is reported to have said that he considered "some of the claims of these claimants just. We should take such steps as ordinarily are taken, provid-

ing they cannot be settled in the courts."

COSTA RICA—The proposal of the President of Nicaragua that each of the governments of the five Central American republics appoint a Minister

Plenipotentiary to a South American capital to represent the joint interests of Central America was accepted by the government of Costa Rica. Doubt has been expressed that the proposal would meet with the approval of the other Central American republics.

SOUTH AMERICA

Bolivia and Paraguay Moving Toward Settlement of Chaco Dispute

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND DEAN OF THE LOWER DIVISION, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

A CABLE DISPATCH from Montevideo on Oct. 11 reporting that "negotiations between Bolivia and Paraguay over restoration of certain forts in the disputed Chaco territory" would take place in the Uruguayan capital undoubtedly refers to the preparations for carrying out the provisions of the fifth paragraph of the resolution of conciliation adopted by the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation at its plenary session in Washington on Sept. 12. This paragraph provides for the re-establishment of the *status quo* that existed before Dec. 5, 1928, through restoration by Paraguay of the buildings of Fort Vanguardia and abandonment by Bolivia of Fort Boquerón, these measures to be carried out in the presence of an army officer of a neutral nation, Uruguay having been requested by the commission to designate two of its officers for this duty. Fulfillment of these provisions sets the capstone to the work of conciliation to which the members and staff of the commission have devoted themselves unstintingly for many weeks at Washington.

The report of General Frank R. McCoy, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation, submitted to the Secretary of State under date of

Sept. 21 for transmission to the American governments not represented on the commission, is a document of extreme interest. It affords striking evidence of the sincere effort made by the neutral commissioners and the representatives of Bolivia and Paraguay to clear the way for ultimate solution of the problems affecting the two nations. The report recapitulates the course of the negotiations undertaken by the commission, from the beginning of its activities in March until its term expired on Sept. 13. It will be recalled that the commission was set up by the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, which met at Havana last December. Under the provisions of the protocol of Jan. 3 the commission was to investigate the incidents of December arising from the border dispute, to determine the responsibility for the clashes between the military forces of the two nations, to endeavor to settle the incidents to the satisfaction of both parties, and, if this should not be possible, to make a report establishing the truth of the matter investigated and the results of its efforts at settlement. Fortunately, the commission was able to bring about resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, so that a report as to the

responsibility for the border incidents became unnecessary.

The first step of a conciliatory nature effected by the commission was repatriation of those soldiers of Paraguay and Bolivia who had been captured during the border affrays. The Paraguayan soldiers were repatriated on June 29 by the neutral committee at Formosa in Argentina and the Bolivians on July 8 at Corumba in Brazil, the exchange being made with the cooperation of the governments of Argentina, Brazil and the United States.

These two aims, repatriation and resumption of diplomatic relations, having been accomplished, the commission turned its attention to an effort to initiate steps looking toward the settlement of the fundamental questions at issue between the two nations. While this was not specifically within the powers of the commission, both countries accepted the suggestion of the chairman of the commission, made on May 31, that the two governments should empower the neutral commissioners to prepare and submit plans for a settlement. On July 1 the delegates of the two countries formally accepted the proposal and the commission thereupon conducted investigations into various phases of the problem, without, however, being able to reconcile the divergent views of the parties. Faced with the prospect of early cessation of their functions, the neutral commissioners then proceeded to prepare a formula for arbitral settlement which was forwarded to the two nations on Aug. 31 (see *CURRENT HISTORY* for October). Both Paraguay and Bolivia accepted in principle the idea of submitting the fundamental question to arbitration, but with such reservations as to the nature of the proposed arbitral plan that entirely new methods of approach to the problem had to be devised.

In the meantime, unfortunately, the term of the commission would obviously expire before answers from the representatives of the two countries could be counted upon. The neutral members

of the commission, however, with statesmanlike foresight, had guarded against this contingency by reading into the minutes of the final meeting of the commission on Sept. 13 their unanimous agreement to recommend to their respective governments that they proffer their good offices to the principal parties in the event that such offices might be useful. This step undoubtedly saved the situation from failure. The five neutral governments, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Cuba and the United States, thereupon made practically identical proposals to the two nations, recommending, in view of the fact that arbitration by the commission or under the plan proposed by the commission was not acceptable to both parties, that negotiations be opened directly between the two countries, and that a commission of the five neutral powers be authorized to take up the negotiations if Bolivia and Paraguay should find themselves unable to reach an agreement by direct negotiation. The note dispatched by the American Secretary of State reads as follows:

My Government is impressed with the vital importance of maintaining some friendly neutral machinery for dealing with difficulties that may arise between Bolivia and Paraguay pending the definitive settlement of the question now unhappily existing between them. It was clearly brought out last December that only the fortunate circumstance that the Pan-American Conference of Arbitration and Conciliation was in session prevented an armed conflict between these two sister nations of this hemisphere.

As a result of the good offices of that conference a commission was set up to lend its good offices to the parties in terminating the conflict, and this commission succeeded in overcoming many obstacles and in conciliating the events of last December in accordance with the protocol of Jan. 3, 1929.

The fundamental question, however, remains, and while it is unsettled there is almost as much danger as there was last December that further unfortunate incidents may occur. In this connection it may be mentioned that there are some fifty-two forts belonging to the

two parties facing one another in the Chaco and that relatively large bodies of troops from both sides are concentrated there.

In examining the statements made by both parties it is seen that they are in agreement in many respects. Paraguay has suggested the continuance of the commission to help in a solution of the fundamental question, while Bolivia has suggested that direct negotiations be resorted to. Bolivia, however, states its willingness to take into consideration the suggestions of a commission of neutrals at the time of renewing the negotiations for a settlement of the fundamental question.

It would seem, therefore, that the wishes of both parties may be met by their agreement to enter immediately into direct negotiations for a settlement, at the same time establishing a commission composed of members of the five neutral nations represented on the commission whose labors terminated on the 13th instant, this commission to be available not only to take up the work should the direct negotiations unfortunately not succeed, but also to render its good offices with a view to overcoming obstacles which may arise during the course of the direct negotiations thereby being in a position perhaps to help those direct negotiations to a successful conclusion.

The United States Government has offered its capital as a place for holding the direct negotiations and for establishing the commission in view of the fact that the Pan-American Conference of Arbitration and Conciliation and the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation emanating therefrom were held in that city, where there is already established the Secretariat-General and other machinery for facilitating this work.

It should be distinctly understood, however, that the preoccupation of the five neutral governments in harmony with the views of the American nations embodied in the general convention of inter-American conciliation concluded on Jan. 5, 1929, is solely that there should be machinery immediately established that may be used in helping the negotiations and preventing conflicts. It is immaterial where this machinery shall be established, and should the contending parties agree on any other capital than Washington, this will be eminently

satisfactory to the five governments concerned.

As to the composition of the commission, it may be stated that certain of the delegates have other duties to perform which would make it a great hardship on them to continue on the new commission and therefore it may be necessary for certain of the neutral governments to appoint new delegates. All the governments stand ready to do so should either or both the contending parties express such a desire.

On Oct. 5 it was announced that Paraguay had accepted the proposal. At the time of writing the reply of Bolivia had not been received. It does not seem likely, however, that the reply can be other than in the affirmative. If that proves to be the case, ultimate success in the adjustment of the difficulties that have beset the two countries will be brought measurably nearer. It will be recalled that settlement of the Tacna-Arica question was effected by direct negotiations after failure of an arbitral process. The Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation apparently realized that the limited time at its disposal had created insurmountable obstacles to a complete settlement at this time, and turned the course of negotiations into the channels that had proved their worth in the Peruvian-Chilean accord, which has already made 1929 a memorable year in inter-American relations. This does not mean that the commission accomplished nothing else. Success in setting the scene for direct negotiations is a high achievement; but it could hardly have been won without the earlier achievements of a conciliatory nature already recounted. That the commission has accomplished what it has accomplished is, under the conditions, little short of amazing. Coming into its functions after armed conflicts had actually occurred and national feelings were thoroughly aroused, with a pitifully brief time at its disposal in which to try to compose the situation, it has justified to a surprising degree the hopes of advocates of international adjustment through conciliation.

Reference was made last month to

the domestic opposition which governments engaging in international negotiations involving national pride or the national honor so frequently have to meet. According to reports, both President José P. Guggiari of Paraguay and President Hernando Siles of Bolivia have had to contend with political opposition at home growing out of the Chaco proceedings. Both have apparently been criticized for not maintaining a more belligerent attitude. In Paraguay the President, with the approval of Congress, proclaimed a "state of siege" (equivalent to a declaration of martial law) for ninety days on Sept. 12, and under the proclamation is reported to have deported members of the opposition party and members of the staff of *La Opinión*, an opposition daily. The President's message referred specifically to Communist activities in Paraguay, which followed the failure of Communist agitation during the Argentine strikes in August, however, rather than to opposition to his foreign policy. Congressional criticism of the government has been severe.

Similar internal difficulties are reported from La Paz. Vice President Saavedra was variously reported to have gone to Santa Cruz and to be under arrest. Former President Ismael Montes, having returned from residence abroad, was reported to have been practically expelled from the country after a stay of about two weeks, being saved from arrest only by the fact that he took refuge in the Chilean Legation. In mid-September the entire Cabinet resigned, and on Oct. 5 the Minister of Public Instruction in the new Cabinet, Constantino Carrión, resigned. It will be recalled that President Siles declared a dictatorship in January. His opponents, in fact, have accused him of fomenting the border disturbances in order that an aroused national war spirit

might protect him from domestic political attack.

ARGENTINA—Attacks on President Irigoyen's policies and conduct of affairs have continued, culminating in a motion asking for impeachment of the President introduced in the Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 25 and referred to a committee. Stormy legislative sessions have been fairly frequent. On Sept. 26 the Senate rejected the credentials of Senator-elect Lencinas, the third and last of the Senators whose election had been disputed. Reference has already been made here to the chief points at issue between the President and his opponents, though one source of criticism, the administration's failure to pay bills for naval construction in Italy and Great Britain, has apparently been eliminated by the President's authorization of these payments in August.

CHILE—A new Cabinet has taken office with the following membership:

MANUEL BARROS CASTANON—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

ENRIQUE BERMUDEZ—Minister of the Interior.

RODOLFO JARAMILLO—Minister of Finance.

EMILIANO BUSTOS—Minister of Promotion (Fomento).

MARIANO NAVARRETE—Minister of Education.

OSVALDO KOCH—Minister of Justice.

LUIS CARVAJAL—Minister of Social Welfare.

BARTOLOME BLANCHE—Minister of War.

CARLOS FRODDEN—Minister of the Navy.

Señor Barros was formerly Ambassador to Mexico and Senor Bermúdez Ambassador to Argentina. The new Minister of Finance was formerly Controller General of Chile and has studied railway operation in this country on behalf of the Chilean State Railways.

The British Labor Government's Success in Foreign Policies

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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THE EXTENT to which the Labor Government has succeeded in focusing public attention upon the foreign relations of the British Empire during its first five months of office has given the world concrete evidence of the political skill of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and his Ministerial associates. In the nature of the case, unable to make any visible progress in carrying out its ambitious and extremely difficult domestic program during one brief Summer, the Labor leaders have gained widespread public approval by vigorously pushing an understandable and popular foreign policy. To have redressed the financial balance of the war in favor of Great Britain, affected a generally satisfactory settlement of the Egyptian problem, made progress toward the resumption of normal relations with Soviet Russia upon a self-respecting basis, prepared the necessary groundwork for a great international conference for the reduction of naval armaments, and replaced growing suspicion and distrust between Great Britain and the United States by a mutual sentiment of goodwill and cooperation—all this within half a year has created a feeling of national satisfaction with the newest of Great Britain's political parties.

Nor has the good work of the new government been hidden under a bushel. The "limelight cabinet" has shown itself the equal, if not the superior, of its old-line competitors in keeping itself and its members on the front page and in the centre of the national stage. The American visit of the Prime Min-

ister, in itself a legitimate stroke of statesmanship, was the culminating act of a program of political showmanship that has not been equaled even by that master of political publicity, David Lloyd George. A few years ago one commonly heard it said in Great Britain that, even if it might win an election, the Labor party could not form a government because it lacked the necessary political talent and experience. Not the least of Mr. MacDonald's achievements has been to educate the British people generally away from that feeling.

If Labor has had its opportunity, and made the most of it, to establish a credit balance in international affairs, there were evidences during the Autumn that with the reassembling of Parliament it would be called upon to show progress toward the fulfillment of its election promises in the domestic field. Speaking on Sept. 27, the day upon which the Prime Minister sailed for America, former Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin issued a critical review of the political situation which indicated the line of attack which the government would soon have to face. Whatever success the Labor party had gained during the Summer, Mr. Baldwin declared, had been achieved by "taking a holiday from socialism. In foreign affairs the Socialist Government has undoubtedly achieved a measure of success, very largely because there has been no break in continuity with the declared policy of its predecessors, the Conservative Government. The real test of the Socialist Government

is yet to come. The Socialist party owes its success at the last election very largely to lavish promises which led the electors to suppose they would bring about substantial and rapid improvements in social conditions and the standard of life of the people and in the unemployment situation. The people are waiting to see whether those pledges are going to be fulfilled. Up to date the signs have been discouraging."

A somewhat similar position was taken by the Liberal leaders at that party's national convention, the annual conference of the National Liberal Federation, which opened at Nottingham on Oct. 3. "The Labor Government will in the end be judged by results," Sir Herbert Samuel declared in the opening address of the meeting. Mr. J. H. Thomas, Labor's special Minister of Unemployment, Sir Herbert added, had shown marked lack of preparation in dealing with the fundamental problem, which, he insisted, could be solved only by action along the lines of Mr. Lloyd George's road building plan. The Liberals also indicated that they would insist upon electoral reform along the lines of proportional representation.

The Labor reply to criticisms of this nature and to impatient demands for a more radical program and swifter action from its own "ginger group" of back benchers was made at the twenty-ninth annual conference of the party, which met at Brighton on Sept. 30. In the absence of Mr. MacDonald, who sent a stirring message from the Berengaria, Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Snowden, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, were the chief spokesmen for the official leaders. Speaking of his recent trip to Canada, the Minister of Unemployment reported that he had persuaded Canadian buyers to purchase a greater proportion of their coal and steel requirements from Great Britain, and that the consequent increase in British production would in time provide greater and steadier employment for British workers. As to the coal industry, Mr. Thomas held out

little hope for the immediate institution of the seven-hour day. He indicated, however, that the government intended to deal with the industry in a way which would benefit both the workers and the employers by increasing the efficiency of coal production in Great Britain and thus enable British coal to regain its position in the world market.

An increase in the discount rate of the Bank of England from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which occurred on Sept. 26, the highest rate in eight years, gave occasion for the announcement by Chancellor Snowden that an inquiry would be made into the whole of Great Britain's financial machinery. This increase, which was viewed with grave apprehension by many members of the Labor party, was attributed, in part, to international financial conditions, especially in America, over which Great Britain has no immediate control. International cooperation along the lines of the Young plan, Mr. Snowden thought, might help the general situation. "But," the Chancellor said, "we cannot wait for that without doing something for ourselves in the meantime. We must know more about the relations of industry to finance. Full inquiry on every phase of the question is required, and already I am setting up a committee to make such an inquiry in behalf of the government. It will have the widest scope to investigate all our financial policies and their effect on the country's welfare."

The reunion of the two great branches of the Scottish Presbyterian Church—the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church—was solemnized in Edinburgh on Oct. 2 with impressive ceremonies. The greetings of the King were conveyed to the reunited church by the Duke of York, while the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Gordon Cosmo Lang, and his predecessor, Lord Davidson of Lambeth, suggested to many Scotsmen and English the possibility of further approaches toward still greater church unity. The United Free Church had been a dissenting body since 1843.

Australian Election Gives Labor Majority To Form Government

LABOR HAS again secured control of the Australian Government as the result of the sweeping victory at the general election on Oct. 12. The election followed the dissolution of the House of Representatives on Sept. 12, in consequence of the failure of the Nationalist Government of Prime Minister Stanley M. Bruce to secure the passage of legislation to abolish federal compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes except in the maritime industries. By a vote of 35 to 34 the House refused to pass the Premier's Commonwealth arbitration abolition bill save with a proviso that the measure should not be brought into operation until it had been submitted to the people at a referendum or a general election. There being no constitutional provision for a referendum of this description, and Parliament having no power to pass effective legislation for the holding of such a referendum, Mr. Bruce accepted the alternative of a general election. Lord Stonehaven, the Governor General, at once acted upon his advice that the House of Representatives should be dissolved, and shortly thereafter announcement was made that a general election would be held on Oct. 12.

The campaign which followed the Parliamentary defeat of the government was notable for its keenness and for its importance in the political and constitutional history of the Commonwealth. The issue at stake has been a fundamental one in Australian life since 1904, when the first Federal arbitration act was passed, while the close balance between the existing parties and the personal rivalry between Mr. Bruce and former Prime Minister William M. Hughes added a lively human interest to the struggle. Himself a Nationalist—in fact, the founder of the

party in 1917 after breaking away from the Labor party, of which he had been leader—Mr. Hughes was responsible for the legislative defeat of the younger man who had supplanted him as leader of the Nationalists in 1923. Refused the endorsement of the Nationalist organization in his own constituency, where the party nominated a strong candidate to oppose him, Mr. Hughes ran as an independent. He received, however, the covert assistance of the Labor party, which did not put up a candidate against him.

The position of the government upon the outstanding issue of the election was set forth in Mr. Bruce's policy speech, delivered on Sept. 18. The Prime Minister declared that except in nation-wide industries, such as shipping, compulsory Federal arbitration had been a failure because the Commonwealth Government lacked complete and undivided power to deal with the problem, and because there was no clear definition of the powers possessed respectively by the Federal and State governments. He therefore proposed that the control of a given industry should lie with one authority only, either the Commonwealth or the States, the latter controlling those industries over which they possessed full powers and the Commonwealth controlling those which fell within its province. The trade and commerce clause of the Constitution gave the Federal Government adequate authority over the maritime industries, and the Ministry proposed that it should continue to exercise them in this field. The policy of vacating the field of industrial regulation except for those industries, Mr. Bruce declared, in no way attacked the principle of arbitration or the principle of the regulation of industrial conditions in general.

The Prime Minister drove home his arguments by illustrations of the demonstrated impotence of the Commonwealth to enforce the awards of the Federal Arbitration Court in disputes within industries which could not be reached under the trade and commerce clause, as compared with its success in enforcing the transport workers award. The financial and economic position of Australia, he declared, was causing grave concern. Something was wrong with the Australian system, and immediate action must be taken to remedy the condition of chaos which now existed. The Ministry's legislation for the maritime industries would bring employer and employee together to consider the solution of the problems of industry on the basis of benefit to both sections. The withdrawal of the conflicting jurisdiction of the Commonwealth from the States' proper sphere of arbitration would enable a similar policy to be carried out by them. As set forth by Mr. Bruce, the problem is one of the constitutional division of power and the practical allocation of functions between the Federal and the State governments.

The position of Mr. Hughes, and in this matter he had the support of the Labor party, was that the government was proceeding in the wrong direction. If the Commonwealth had failed in the regulation of industry because it lacked in constitutional power, the thing to do was to obtain additional authority, not to pass the problem back to the States. In this matter it was more logical for the States to give place to the federal authority. Mr. Hughes predicted that the

widening of Commonwealth powers in this field was certain to be recommended by the Constitutional Commission, which is now ready to present its report on the revision of the fundamental law.

Although the arbitration question unquestionably was the paramount issue of the campaign, the Labor party attacked the government upon other aspects of its policy. The amusement tax proposals of the Nationalists seem to have been received with coldness by the people at large, and its tariff policy, while not satisfying the manufacturers, had imposed a heavy tax upon the consumer and the country producer. An arrangement between the government and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company by which that corporation is given certain special advantages in Australia and in Papua and the mandated territory of New Guinea was also attacked.

The previous general election took place in November, 1928. It left the Nationalists with 29 seats and the Country party with 13, giving the government 42 votes. Labor captured 31 seats, and 2 Independents were elected. As a result of the election on Oct. 12, 1929, according to the latest returns available at this writing, the composition of the new House will be: Labor 43, Nationalists 17, Country party 11, Independents 4, and Country Party Progressive 1. It was expected that within a few days Mr. Bruce would resign and that a new Cabinet would be formed by J. H. Scullin, leader of the Labor party, as Prime Minister, with E. G. Theodore, former Labor Premier of Queensland, as Treasurer.

Other Events in the British Empire

INDIA—On Sept. 23 the Legislative Assembly at Simla passed the third reading of the child marriage bill by an overwhelming majority. The measure, which had the support of the government, provides that the age of marriage shall not be less than 14 years, and that the age of consent shall be

not less than 16 years. The only group within the Assembly to oppose the measure was composed of a group of the Moslem members who declared that the law would demand a violation of the tenets of their religious faith.

Opinion in India seemed to be divided upon the enforceability of the law as

passed or of any legislation seeking to abolish child marriage. The act, it was said, seeks to alter social conditions and to interfere with personal conduct and religious beliefs in a manner which will not as yet be supported by public opinion. On the other hand, it was asserted that the law will strengthen the position of the growing body of Indians who are seeking to bring their country into line with the rest of the civilized world in this vital matter. The prevalence of child marriage in India at the present time may be judged from the figures in the census of 1921, the latest official estimates available. At that time there were 250,000 wives and widows not exceeding 5 years of age and 2,000,000 of 10 years or less. Forty per cent of the girls between the ages of 10 and 15 were reported as being in the marriage state.

On Sept. 16 the government's spokesman in the Legislative Assembly accepted an amendment providing for the circulation of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment bill, popularly known

as the hunger strike bill, in order to obtain more opinions upon it before further consideration by the Assembly. The measure, which was presented to prevent the indefinite delay of criminal legal proceedings by hunger strikes, such as have been carried on by the defendants in the Lahore conspiracy case, had been bitterly opposed by many of the more radical Indian members of the Legislature, and this group probably was strengthened by the death of one of the hunger strikers at Barisal gaol. The European group and the Central Moslem party resented the postponement of the bill.

SOUTH AFRICA—The elections to the Senate of the Union of South Africa were reported on Sept. 6 to have resulted in the victory of seventeen Nationalists and fifteen nominees of the South African party. As the government is empowered to name eight additional members to represent the natives General Hertzog will have a majority of ten in the upper chamber.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

French Relations With Great Britain

By RAYMOND TURNER

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ALTHOUGH IT was largely due to M. Briand's kindly courtesy and good-will that the international conference on reparations at The Hague accepted the Young plan, the struggle left behind it some unpleasant recollections in France, where it was felt that a British political party not friendly to her had seized opportunity to oppose her at any cost.

It is said that at the conference M. Chéron, the French Minister of Finance, after following intently every expression of Mr. Snowden, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, for several days, leaned across to M. Briand and

whispered: "I know where I have seen that face before. That is the man who burned Joan of Arc." A cartoon in a Moscow paper showed to the waist in its upper part M. Briand and Mr. MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, smiling, with the legend, "The two friends greet each other, but each * * *," while the lower section showed Mr. Snowden prowling through their legs, with the legend, "Tries to forget the black cat which has come between them." During the conference the French press had heaped much abuse and blame upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Le Temps* spoke of

his arrogance, and declared him responsible for security of the peace of Europe, while *Volonté*, one of the organs of the Socialist-Radicals, referred menacingly to intrigues which France, if displeased, might set going in the Near East, and to financial inconveniences that might be prepared for the British Government through withdrawing gold reserves in the Bank of England. Much cannot be known at once to him who chronicles passing events, but, whatever its significance, it may be said that late in August a writer in the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, under the caption "Struggle with Bullets of Gold," affirmed that much more was going on between France and Great Britain at The Hague than appeared on the surface, and that actually Great Britain was alarmed at the way her gold was being drawn out through efforts and instigations of France. It is interesting to note that in September the Bank of England was compelled to raise its rate of discount to 6½ per cent, the highest since June, 1921, despite certainty that this would increase unemployment and check industrial growth, through necessity of stopping the dangerous drain of its gold reserves, which had in the past year fallen far below the amount considered necessary as foundation for Great Britain's credit system. Yet, while some of the gold so withdrawn had undoubtedly gone to France, the greater causes of the movement may have been the unprecedented and long-continued speculative boom in the United States, where borrowers eagerly sought loans at high rates, and great demands for capital in the German Reich.

After The Hague Conference both Mr. MacDonald and M. Briand went to the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. The speech delivered by Mr. MacDonald on Sept. 3 was much praised in Germany but was received in France as an exposition of ideal sentiments having no particularly useful application. Three days later his colleague, Mr. Henderson, declared that the covenant of the League should be amended to outlaw

private wars altogether, thus bringing it up to the Kellogg pact, since made. Meanwhile, on Sept. 5, M. Briand, in an eloquent, impassioned oration, made a plea for a "Federated Europe." That night Mr. MacDonald entertained M. Briand and the late Herr Stresemann at dinner.

Viscount Cecil, one of the British delegates to the Assembly, speaking before a committee thereof on Sept. 19, declared that since 1927 virtually no progress had been made by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission toward reducing armaments on land, on sea or in the air. True, negotiations were then going on outside the League for naval limitation, but "history shows that the majority of past wars have been fought on land, and it is land forces that must be limited." He acknowledged frankly the great work of France in respect of Locarno, the Kellogg pact and arbitration, but added that in regard to disarmament now he relied "less on their help than on the help of other nations." Actually, the September number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contains an article by General Debeney, Chief of the French General Staff, who, writing under the caption "National Army and Professional Army," declares the French army too weak, with a striking force of only about 136,000 men, while he believes that Germany might now suddenly mobilize nearly 400,000.

Efforts were not wanting to check a widening rift between France and Great Britain, in which some saw an end of the Entente Cordiale established twenty-five years ago. In a statement before Mr. Henderson left The Hague on Aug. 30 for Geneva, he said that "some irresponsible people" had been suggesting that there would in future be less cordiality or confidence in relations between the two countries, pretending to detect coldness or hostility because of recent frank speaking. He declared that Great Britain desired her whole policy to be founded on close international co-operation with the other governments of the world. Above all, however, Great Britain wished to have this "with our

closest neighbor, France. * * * We do not forget that France is just across the Channel; that it is through her that we are linked to the Continent of Europe; that in all parts of the world we have interests which are the same and which we can only promote by common action." In the highest terms he then praised the spirit just shown by M. Briand.

On Sept. 1, Mr. MacDonald and his daughter, on their way to Geneva, stopped in Paris for tea with M. Briand, where cordial conversations are said to have taken place on the subject of diminishing barriers between European peoples. A fortnight later the *Petit Parisien* published an interview with Mr. MacDonald at Geneva. The correspondent told him events at The Hague coming after speeches during the British election campaign had produced a strong impression that the British Labor party had turned definitely against France and was determined to sever the ties uniting British and French policies. Mr. MacDonald denied emphatically that the British Government was animated by a spirit unfriendly to France; any manifestations noticed had probably resulted from a feeling that the recent policy of the British Empire toward France had been one of subordination rather than of cooperation and that Great Britain should put herself in a more independent position. Reminded that just after the election he had said "No more of the alliance, no more of the entente; that is an outworn state of mind," he replied that he had spoken thus in respect of Lord Cushendun's declaration which might be construed to mean that the alliance would always exist; that the alliance had been directed against others; such an alliance was contrary to the principles of the Labor party, whose policy was friendship between all peoples. He added, however: "I should never think of negotiating with any State any alliance whatsoever from which France would be excluded or which would be directed against her." To the assertion that France had recognized Great Britain's special position in

naval affairs and acquiesced in her negotiations thereupon with the United States, that hence she should recognize the special position of France with respect to disarmament on land, he gave an entirely non-committal reply.

The negotiations between Great Britain and the United States, while little discussed in public, were watched with great interest in France, and the prospect of France being invited later to join a five-power conference on naval affairs appeared embarrassing in some circles. France, reluctant and seemingly fearful about reducing her armaments on land, considered that land and naval armaments formed parts of an indissoluble scheme of defense, and feared an arrangement between the two great naval powers which might constrain her to reduce the number of her warships. The American State Department declared the suspicions voiced by Paris newspapers that Great Britain and the United States were arranging an informal alliance were entirely unfounded. France further feared disturbance of her delicate relations with Italy, being altogether indisposed to have any international naval conference place her exactly on the same footing with Italy, since this would render her inferior at sea to her southern neighbor, whose naval interests were in the Mediterranean alone, while hers were on the Atlantic as well. According to the *Journal des Débats*, France could appear at no naval conference without assurance beforehand upon three vital points: retention of submarines; the right to fix the number of light sea forces; naval parity in the Mediterranean plus a force in the Atlantic equal to that allowed Germany by the Treaty of Versailles.

At a Cabinet meeting on Sept. 12 at Rambouillet, where President Doumergue was spending his holidays, consideration was given to the agricultural crisis due to a heavy yield of wheat, and methods of relieving farmers, particularly the small growers, because of the fall of grain prices. The introduction of relief bills into the Chamber was authorized, and the Ministries of

Finance and of Agriculture were instructed to consider the problem of export premiums. The Minister of Agriculture was authorized to instruct local credit institutions to give greater facilities to small farmers desiring loans on their harvests, and it was decided to introduce a bill creating a national corn office to study grain production in France and elsewhere so as to avert such crises in the future.

Prices have continued to rise for the most part. For the first three months of 1929 the price index was 547, and for the second trimester 556, as compared with 100 as of 1914. There has been a continual ascent since the end of 1927, when the figure stood at 498. This factor has to be considered against the lack of unemployment and the increase in wages.

Cardinal Dubois, Archbishop of Paris, died on Sept. 23. His strong and conciliatory work in difficult times will be widely remembered.

An editor of *L'Humanité*, the Communist daily in Paris, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and fined 2,000 francs for publishing articles that incited soldiers to disobey orders.

Writing in the *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale*, Camille Bloch of the Sorbonne describes the official docu-

ments on the origin of the war which the French Government is publishing. They will cover the period 1871-1914, will be drawn from all sources, even from the War Department, will be arranged chronologically, will contain notes of an explanatory character, but no annotations of a tendentious character such as some in the *Grosse Politik*, and will aim to avoid any spirit of propaganda which appears to the author so strong in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*.

BELGIUM—During The Hague conference efforts were made to resume negotiations with Holland about the Scheldt.

A bill is to be introduced into Parliament to limit the importation of foreign workmen to times of scarcity of skilled men in particular trades. More than 10 per cent of the workmen employed in Belgium are foreigners, especially Poles and Italians. At the same time many Belgian wool workers are employed in France.

MONACO—The troubles besetting the government seem to have been settled when Prince Louis was persuaded by his daughter to agree to all the reforms his subjects required.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

Stresemann's Death a Loss to German Statesmanship

By **SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY**

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

GERMANY SUFFERED a political catastrophe on Oct. 3 in the sudden, though not wholly unexpected, death of her statesman-like Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Gustav Stresemann. By general accord he is mourned as Germany's ablest political leader since Bismarck, both be-

cause of his patient skill in restoring Germany's position in international affairs, and also because of his tireless ability in meeting and overcoming the domestic opponents of his policies. He knew that the kidney trouble from which he had long suffered was threatening his life unless he took a complete

rest. But he preferred to stay a few weeks longer in office until he was assured of the satisfactory adoption of the Young plan. After that, later in the Fall, he intended to take his long-overdue and imperatively needed vacation. Only a few hours before his death he used his last strength in supporting the Mueller Cabinet and in averting a crisis over the bitterly contested law concerning increased doles for the unemployed. As President von Hindenburg truly said of him, "he worked very faithfully for the Fatherland to his last breath."

Dr. Stresemann was only 51 years old. But he had already been twice Chancellor and five times Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was born in Berlin on May 10, 1878. Son of a restaurant keeper, he showed early promise as a boy, and was sent by his father at considerable sacrifice through the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig, where he specialized in economics and political science. At 23 he became general secretary of the Association of German Chocolate Manufacturers, and two years later general secretary of the League of Saxon Industrialists.

From this vantage point he made his jump into politics, affiliating with the National Liberal party. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1907 as one of its candidates, and became a devoted follower of its able leader, Bassermann. Upon the latter's death ten years later, he succeeded him as head of the party. In 1918 he formed, and assumed the chairmanship of, the German People's party, to which he was a tower of strength until his death.

Dr. Stresemann began to attract international attention when in August, 1923, he was chosen Chancellor to succeed Wilhelm Cuno. In the months of intense German bitterness and despair caused by the French occupation of the Ruhr and by the fantastic fall of the mark, Cuno had advocated passive resistance. Dr. Stresemann substituted for this dangerous policy the new policy with which his name will ever be connected, that of reconciliation and

better understanding with France, based on a firm but frank recognition of political and economic interests of both countries and of post-war Europe as a whole. It is by this policy that he has restored to Germany much of her former international good standing.

It was only as a matter of domestic political necessity that Dr. Stresemann took the Chancellorship, for it was generally known that his ambition was to become Foreign Minister. That came to pass in November, 1923, when he accepted that portfolio under Chancellor Marx, who succeeded him. With the longed-for opportunity at hand, Stresemann plunged into his international program with the idea of eliminating those obstacles that were retarding the re-establishment of economic order and of placing his country in the position among the nations to which he believed she was entitled.

First came the adoption of the Dawes plan in 1924. This for the first time approached the reparations question as a business as well as a political problem, and reduced the astronomical figures discussed at the Versailles Peace Conference to sums which Germany was able to pay, and which, under Stresemann's leadership, she was ready to make a great effort to pay. Her punctual meeting of all the terms of the Dawes plan for the past five years has brought to her late enemies considerable sums for repairing the costs of the war, and generally convinced them of her honest intention to meet all the reasonable promises to which she had agreed.

The honesty of purpose evidenced by Germany's acceptance and fulfillment of the Dawes plan enabled Stresemann to advance to his next step, the Locarno treaties, in which he reassured France and Belgium of their security on the western border of Germany.

His leadership was tested to the extreme in his plan to have Germany enter the League of Nations. Here he met great opposition at home. President Wilson had originally intended that Germany should enter the League

and in 1919 she would have liked to do so and have a seat on the Council. But it was decided otherwise. In the years which followed the signing of the Peace of Versailles, sentiment in Germany, which had at first been strongly in favor of a League of Nations, turned even more strongly against it. It came to be looked upon as a perpetuation of the alliance of the powers which had defeated Germany, and its failure to deal with Upper Silesia and many other questions in a way which should seem equitable to Germany had been bitterly resented. Germans regarded the League as sadly inefficient and as too much dominated by France and her adherents. In allied circles also there was still doubt as to the sincerity of Germany's pacific intentions and of her fitness to assume a seat on the Council of the League.

But Stresemann pursued his purpose unswervingly. By September, 1926, the election of Germany as a member of the League became assured. Appropriately enough, Stresemann headed the German delegation to Geneva, and had the famous Thoiry breakfast with Briand. The two Foreign Ministers sat down face to face, discussed their differences frankly with their cards on the table, and became henceforth friends who were able to trust one another. Each came to appreciate the difficulties which the other had to meet in his own domestic political situation, and to recognize the honesty and high purposes of the other. "I shall ever guard," Briand telegraphed to Frau Stresemann, "a precious memory of your husband, who, in following a common ideal, gave me an opportunity of appreciating the high level of his views and the perfect loyalty of his character."

Dr. Stresemann further established himself as a statesman of international calibre in March, 1927, when he presided at the meeting of the League Council with tact and skill. Affable, approachable and willing to talk, he became a favorite with the newspaper correspondents assigned to the League.

He was well aware of the importance of the newspaper in modern political life. Every Friday in Berlin he received and talked with the foreign journalists at tea. Trusting their discretion, he let them know the policy he intended to pursue, and answered their questions, frequently in a humorous and whimsical manner. On the last of these Friday meetings before his death he talked of Pan-Europe, elaborating on M. Briand's recent discussion of a United States of Europe. He favored the idea of the European States forgetting their petty differences and trying to work together for an economic whole.

At the recent conference at The Hague on the Young plan Stresemann showed his usual patience and firmness in trying to remove sources of international friction and secure more workable arrangements, which had brought him success so often before. While the former Allies wrangled for weeks as to the division of the money they were to receive from Germany, Dr. Stresemann, although suffering seriously in health, waited patiently through a series of crises, and finally spoke out to demand that some conclusion be reached and that the Rhineland be evacuated. He then secured what he wanted, just as he had obtained membership in the League. Among other reasons, he will be endeared to Germans as the Liberator of the Rhineland.

Dr. Stresemann's greatest gift lay in his ability to combine a high degree of idealism, which made a strong popular and international appeal, with practical politics and statesmanship. He was essentially a middle-path man, which is to say that in an opportunist way he gave his policy a turn which would draw backing from both sides. Heading what was in effect a middle party, the German People's party, which he founded just after the war from the wreck of the National Liberal party, he knew how to appeal, now to the Socialists, now to the Nationalists. He was able to obtain enough support in the Reichstag to put through the particular measure which he had in hand at the moment. In dealing with foreign

statesmen he kept in view this same moderation, always insisting only on what was practically attainable. It was this happy combination of idealism and practical moderation which won him friendship and respect at home and abroad. They were qualities which brought to him, with Briand and Austen Chamberlain, the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in December, 1926.

The whole world will be interested to see whether Germany, with her many political parties and strong partisan feelings, can produce another moderate man who will recognize that Germany's highest chance is in a peaceful Europe, and who can succeed in drawing support for that policy both from the Right and from the Left. It is too early to make predictions. For the moment, in the common feeling of mourning at the nation's loss, there is a cessation of partisan wrangling. Sympathy for the devotion which he showed to his country's interests and a better realization of his aims and accomplishments may quite probably work in favor of the full acceptance of the Young plan, which was one of his last and dearest wishes.

Dr. Julius Curtius, Minister of Economic Affairs, has been appointed Foreign Minister. He is an old party friend of the late Foreign Minister, was a member of the German delegation to the recent reparations conference at The Hague, and he has given Dr. Stresemann's foreign policies his active support both in the Cabinet and as one of the most influential leaders of the People's party.

During the weeks immediately before his death Dr. Stresemann was bitterly attacked by the Nationalists and the Hugenberg press for his advocacy of the Young plan, involving, as they assert, the "enslavement" of Germany through the forced payment of "tribute" or reparations for two generations to come. Noisy demonstrations and fiery speeches took place denouncing the new reparations settlement and vowing its defeat. This group of self-styled patriots has drawn up a draft of a law calling for a national plebiscite

on the rejection of the Young plan. The draft law makes it a crime for any Chancellor, Cabinet member, or other authorized agent of the German Government to commit Germany to any further reparation payments. It also cleverly incorporates a paragraph, intended to catch the popular vote, which provides for the complete disavowal by the German people of the confession of war responsibility contained in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. This juggling of money and moral issues invests Hugenberg's referendum with an element of diabolical mischief, which, if taken seriously by the masses, constitutes a considerable menace to Germany's internal political peace and to her relations with foreign nations. In accordance with the Constitution, the Minister of Interior, Dr. Carl Severing, announced that the government would receive the petition for this referendum, but strongly disapproved of it on account of its defects both at home and abroad. He set Oct. 16 to 29 as the period for obtaining the necessary signatures to the petition. According to the German procedure, if 10 per cent of all the voters sign the lists, the referendum must come up before the Reichstag in plenary session, and if passed by the Reichstag it thus becomes law. Otherwise a popular vote has to be taken four weeks later, in which case at least 50 per cent of all the voters must go to the polls, which means about 20,000,000 people.

Following the example of bank mergers in Wall Street, one that is notable has taken place in Berlin between two of the strongest banks in Germany, the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft. As a result of the merger, the new institution will command a capital of 285,000,000 marks and deposits aggregating 4,000,000,000 marks. The Disconto Gesellschaft maintained about fifty branches in leading German cities, with a personnel of 7,000, and the Deutsche Bank more than twice as many. The merger is expected to reduce the cost of maintaining so many branch banks with their large force of employees.

Austrian Fascists Force Cabinet Change

THE long-standing political conflict between the Socialists and Conservatives in Austria resulted on Sept. 25 in the resignation of the Streeruwitz Cabinet and the formation of a new Ministry under Johann Schober. The resignation was caused by the demand of the Austrian Fascists for constitutional changes designed to cripple the power of their opponents, the Socialists. The constitutional changes demanded include an enlargement of the powers of the President of Austria which would place him on much the same footing as the President of the United States; a change in the method of Parliamentary elections; and a revision of the status of Vienna, reducing it from a province to a mere city, and the consequent diminution of the power of its present Socialist Administration.

Herr Schober is 55 years old, was Chancellor in 1921-1922, and recently Police President of Vienna. It was expected that he would select a Conservative Cabinet and include at least two of the Heimwehr or Fascist leaders. Instead he has selected a moderate but strong Cabinet designed to inspire confidence at home and abroad that Austria is determined in any revision of

her unwieldy Constitution to adhere strictly to democratic paths. The name of Dr. Hainisch alone would be a guarantee of this. He was President of the republic from 1920 to 1928 and is one of Austria's most convinced democrats, who would never join a Cabinet which was not determined to proceed along strictly constitutional lines. Places in the new Cabinet were offered to Professor Joseph Redlich, now of the Harvard Law School, and to another professor; but as they have found it impossible to abandon their teaching, Herr Schober will keep temporarily in his own hands the portfolios of Finance and Education. The rest of the Cabinet, which was formed within twenty-four hours, and approved by Parliament on Sept. 26 with a vote of 84 to 69, follows:

JOHANN SCHOBER—Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

KARL VAUGOIN—Vice Chancellor and Minister of Defense.

VINCENZ SHUMY—Minister of Interior.

MICHAEL HAINISCH—Minister of Commerce and Communications.

FLORIAN FOEDERMAYR—Minister of Agriculture.

Professor THEODOR INNITZER—Minister of Social Welfare.

FRANZ GLAMA—Minister of Justice.

ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

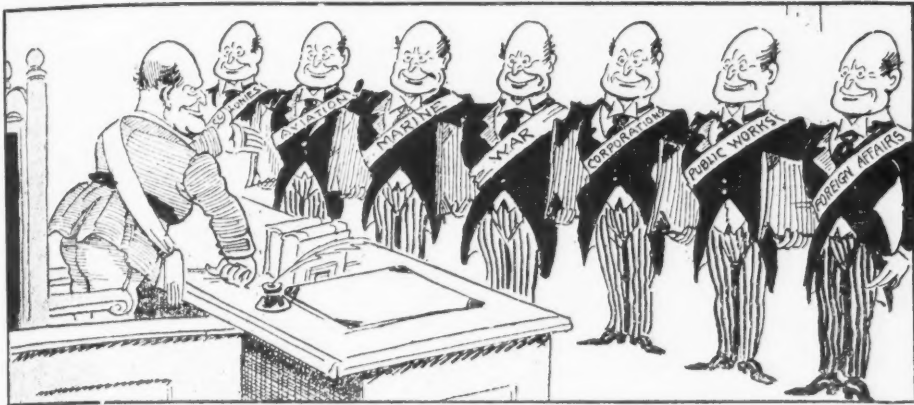
Reorganization of Fascist Party

By ELOISE ELLERY

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CHANGES IN the organization of the Fascist party to follow those already made in the Cabinet were announced by Premier Mussolini in a speech on Sept. 14 to the Grand Assembly of the party. While there was to be no suppression of the party as a political unit, it was, Mussolini declared,

to become more than ever before an organ of the State. As a part of the logical carrying out of this policy the Secretary General was to be appointed by royal decree on the nomination of the head of the government, and the Federal Secretaries by the head of the government on nomination of the Sec-



DISCHARGED WITHOUT A STAIN

Signor Mussolini: "In accepting your resignations, I would like to say that you filled your posts with the greatest credit, and I am completely satisfied with the way you have discharged your duties"

—*Evening News, London*

retary General. At the same time the composition of the Fascist Grand Council was to be changed so as to concentrate all power in the hands of fewer members, the present number, fifty-two, being too large for secrecy or efficiency. In this connection Mussolini read a letter from the present Secretary General, Augusto Turati, expressing a desire to give up his post. Mussolini's answer was a eulogy of Turati and a terse statement that his answer was an order to Turati to remain at his post and continue his task as head of the party.

Then, turning to the relation between the party and the Fascist régime as a whole, the former, Mussolini declared, was not a closed caste. No such term could be applied to an organization which numbered 1,020,000 registered male members, 93,495 women, besides thousands of boys and girls in organized groups. Neither was it a privileged order, and its members were "first citizens" only in matters of "work, discipline and sacrifice." Under the Fascist régime, he went on, great things had been accomplished, public works on a large scale had been undertaken, a land reclamation scheme initiated and unemployment markedly reduced. Meanwhile necessary adjustments had been made.

The Ministry of National Economy, whose functions were being performed by other departments of government, had become the Ministry of Agriculture, while the Ministry of Public Instruction was more fittingly to be called the Ministry of National Education. This latter change was intended to confirm in the most explicit manner that the State alone had not only the right but the duty to educate people rather than merely instructing them. Logically, therefore, under this ministry should come the direction of the Fascist youth organization, the Balilla.

As far as the relations with the Church were concerned, he went on, they were based on the Fascist principle of "all in the State, nothing outside the State and nothing against the State," and in carrying out this principle, State and Church, he declared, had come to a harmonious understanding. As for the fundamental principle of fascism, it was frankly based on dictatorship. The three words of 1789 (liberty, equality and fraternity) were of the past; the watchwords of the Fascist régime were not merely a formula but were fast becoming a reality—namely, authority, order and justice. "Fascism is unique," he concluded, "the only unique thing that the

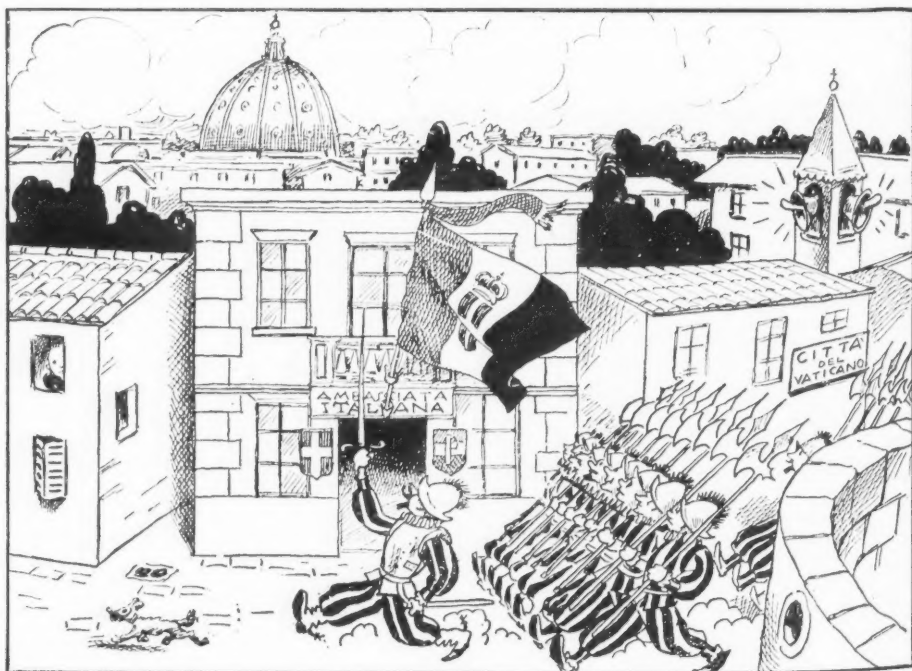
first thirty years of this century have seen in the political as well as the social field."

The changes alluded to in this speech, while they include a reduction in the number of Council members—from fifty-six to about twenty—do not affect the division of the Council into three categories (See *CURRENT HISTORY* for February, 1929, p. 865). According to the *Foglio d'Ordine*, the official organ of the party, the first class, which will be unlimited in scope, will be composed only of the quadrumvirate of the march on Rome. The second will be made up of the principal Ministers, the secretary and vice secretary of the Fascist party, the presidents of the Senate and Chamber and of the Italian Academy and the presidents of the confederations of employers and employees in industry and agriculture by reason of their offices. The third class, which will have membership for three years, will be comprised

of statesmen, former secretaries of the party since 1922, and men active in the Fascist revolution.

With his giving up of seven of the Cabinet portfolios, Mussolini left the Palazzo Chigi and removed his offices to the Palazzo Venezia. This palace, which dates back to the year 1460, had been the property of the Austrian Crown since the time of Napoleon, but has remained empty since it came into Italian possession at the beginning of the World War. It is now in process of renovation.

Recent measures approved by the newly organized Cabinet include a bill calling for a nation-wide agricultural census to begin in March, 1930. Another bill provides for marriages celebrated by non-Catholic religious authorities in Italy and lays down regulations bringing registration of certificates and publication of the bans into line with the regular procedure. A third measure stipulates that war vet-



THE SEVENTH YEAR OF FASCISM

"Who would have expected to see the Papal Guard march peaceably into Rome?"

—II '420,' Florence

erans are to have priority in minor posts in the government and in teaching appointments in the case of veterans educationally equipped.

Mussolini's vigorous campaign to increase wheat production, launched some three years ago, won its first real success this year. For the first years conditions were peculiarly unfavorable, but this year the wheat crop reached the exceptionally high figure of 70,000,000 quintals, as against an average of about 50,000,000.

In the relations between the Fascist Government and the Vatican, while harmony has in the main been established, there are still points of friction, especially in connection with Catholic organizations for the young. In addressing the leaders of such an organization recently, the Pope is quoted as saying: "It is reported they are watched by scouts. If many scouts watch over you and over Catholic affairs, you monitors tell the Catholic youth that the Pope watches. Have, therefore, serene confidence and no alarm." This is obviously a reference to a recent announcement of Mussolini to the effect that there were 9,000 watchers maintaining surveillance over activities of the clergy throughout Italy.

The Special Military Tribunal for the Defense of the State on Sept. 29 condemned Cesare Rossi, former head of the Press Bureau, to thirty years' imprisonment on the charge of attempting to incite Italian citizens to rise in arms against the government. Signor Rossi was one of those charged with complicity in the Matteotti murder, but was not convicted. He afterward escaped abroad and wrote articles attacking Mussolini and accusing him of responsibility for the death of Matteotti. Upon crossing the frontier in Italy—according to some accounts, lured by underhand means—he was arrested and charged with the authorship of articles which the prosecutor maintained might have caused a rising against the Fascist régime. On the ground that the actual result was neg-

ligible, the prosecutor did not demand the death sentence. Although it was claimed by the defense that as the majority of the crimes attributed to Rossi were committed before the law for the defense of the State was passed, and that in consequence its severe penalties did not apply, his plea for leniency was of no avail, and Rossi was convicted.

Italian propaganda in Malta has been summarily checked by new press regulations issued by the British officials of Malta. Severe penalties, up to imprisonment for a term of three years, are imposed upon those "who help the enemies of his Majesty in whatever way or against the Maltese Government." According to the Italians, it is the Prime Minister of Malta, Lord Strickland, who began an anti-Italian campaign. (See *CURRENT HISTORY* for October, 1929, p. 178.)

During the September meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, Italy, in company with a number of other countries, signed the optional clause of the World Court statute which provides for obligatory arbitration of legal disputes between nations.

SPAIN—Spain has signed an agreement with France for the development of water power in Andorra, the tiny republic in the Pyrenees. This measure is part of a plan for the conversion of Andorra into a modern country, with electric power and good roads, and the exploitation of its mineral deposits.

PORTUGAL—President Carmona recently outlined his program for Portugal as follows: First of all, to lift the country out of the financial difficulties in which he found it, then to reorganize commerce and industry in general, and finally to return to the parliamentary form of government. The Cabinet on Oct. 4 announced that the reform schemes contemplated also the reorganization of the navy, improved relations with the colonies and the improvement of the education system.

The Political Crisis in Czechoslovakia

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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IMPORTANT POLITICAL events in Czechoslovakia were precipitated by the outcome of the Tuka trial.

In his concluding speech, on Sept. 30, to the court which for ten weeks had been trying him on charges of high treason, Professor Tuka declared that the real accused was not himself, but the Hungarian irredentists in Slovakia, with whom he had no connection, and charged that, since the government had failed to solve the question of autonomy for Slovakia in the political field, it was trying to do so in court and by making him a scapegoat.

On Sept. 23 President Masaryk authorized Premier Udrzal to dissolve Parliament and hold a general election in October if the five coalition parties supporting the government failed to reach an agreement on the selection of a new Minister of War. The real cause of the crisis appears to have been the threat of the Slovak People's party to withdraw from the coalition if its champion, Professor Tuka, should be convicted. On Sept. 24 a conference of the parties agreed on the authorized dissolution, and the election was fixed for Oct. 27.

Developments in October indicated a serious deadlock between the Slovaks and the government. On Oct. 5 Professor Tuka was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. On Oct. 7 it was reported that Tuka's name had been placed by the Slovak People's party at the head of its list of Parliamentary candidates for the Kosice area. While the Czech press declared that Tuka's conviction was a warning to the Magyarophile Slovaks, Father Hlinka, leader of the Slovak People's party, on Oct. 7 published

a flaming appeal against the sentence in the newspaper *Slovak*, which was confiscated by the censor. On Oct. 9 Father Hlinka announced that his party would make common cause with the Hungarian and German minorities in an effort to overthrow Czech centralism at the coming elections. On Oct. 8 M. Labay and Dr. Tiszo, the two Slovak Ministers in the government, resigned; this was briefly announced by Father Hlinka to a conference of leaders of the coalition parties.

The new relationship between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican was signalized by a striking occurrence on Sept. 28, obviously intended as the final sign of the healing of the breach caused three years ago by the adoption of the anniversary of the martyrdom of John Huss as a Czechoslovak national holiday. On that occasion the Papal Nuncio was recalled to Rome as a mark of protest, and he did not return for almost a year, when the present so-called *modus vivendi* was established between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican. On Sept. 28, as the crowning incident of the great Catholic and national celebrations of the thousandth anniversary of Saint Wenceslaus, the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Ciriacci, decorated President Masaryk with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sacred Tomb—a distinction hitherto reserved for Catholic sovereigns only.

The Treaty of Versailles granted Czechoslovakia an option of acquiring an operating naval base in the port of Hamburg, and arrangements were announced in September under which this right will be exercised through a newly formed Czechoslovakian Navigation Company, in which the North German

Lloyd will have a 49 per cent interest.

In a detailed interview with a correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, published on Sept. 28, President Masaryk presented a highly hopeful, if not an extravagantly optimistic, view of the general European situation. He expressed firm belief that Germany and Poland would come to an understanding concerning the Polish Corridor; that Hungary's striving for integrity under the old crown of Saint Stephen would cease, "because it is too artificial"; that relations between Italy and Yugoslavia would continue to improve, and likewise those between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; that the League of Nations would grow in strength; that sundry minority problems would gradually find solution, and that no single power would ever aspire to dominate Europe. He specially stressed the growth of personal acquaintance and contact among statesmen, *e. g.*, the conversations of M. Briand and the late Herr Stresemann, as a new factor making for understanding and peace.

Another interview attributed to President Masaryk and published on Oct. 7 in the Budapest paper *Pesti Naplo*, aroused a great commotion, especially in Hungary. According to this statement, Mr. Masaryk had announced to Franz Rajniss, president of the Hungarian Social Institute, his willingness to negotiate with Hungary for the return of some 14,000 square miles of former Hungarian territory attached to Czechoslovakia by the Treaty of Trianon. On Oct. 10 this sensational report was repudiated by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Prague and the Czechoslovak official press; President Masaryk had received Rajniss, with other delegates of the Congress for Social Work, it was said, but no interview had been given and the subject of revision of frontiers had not been discussed.

YUGOSLAVIA—It was actively rumored in diplomatic circles at the end of September that the dictatorship was about to be abolished and a parliamentary régime once more set up.

Among reasons assigned were the increasingly strained relations between King Alexander and Premier Zhivkovitch, and the determination of the former not to allow the latter to become his *Primo de Rivera*, and also the palpably growing discontent of the population of old Serbia because of the repression of political activity and discussion on the part of the general mass of the people. It was believed that when the expected change was made a new set of provincial boundary lines would be decreed, with a view to obliterating as far as possible the pre-war political boundaries as part of a process of unifying the nation. Whether anything could be done toward removing the dissatisfaction of the Croats seemed more doubtful.

A visit of the London banker, Baron Rothschild, to Belgrade earlier in the month failed to produce the long-awaited promise of a loan. The impression he conveyed was not only that the London market was not receptive to a loan at the moment, but that no confidence was felt in London that the existing régime could be maintained long enough to make it advisable to conclude a loan.

RUMANIA—The serious illness of M. Buzdugan, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and one of the three members of the Council of Regency (the other two are Patriarch Miron Christea and Prince Nicholas), led in early October to considerable speculation as to who his successor would be in case of an unfavorable termination of his malady. The death of M. Buzdugan on Oct. 7 made the election of his successor necessary, and on Oct. 9 it was officially announced that Constantin Saratzeanu, counselor in the Rumanian High Court of Cassation, had been elected, at a special meeting of Parliament held that day, as the third regent. He received 455 votes, as against 9 for former Prince Carol, and 22 for General Presan, favored by the Liberals and in military circles. As the Liberals absented themselves from Parliament their support of this candidate

was of little value. The plan attributed to court officials, aided by the Liberals, to propose Queen Marie failed, it was said, owing to the opposition of Premier Maniu and Professor Nicolas Jorga, Prince Carol's former tutor,

Fourteen army officers, civil officials and others charged with high treason in connection with the recent plot to overthrow the Maniu Government by *coup d'état* were convicted and sentenced on Sept. 21. Their punishment, however, was made so light as to amount, as a press correspondent remarks, only to a reproving pat on the cheek by a paternal government to a group of mischievous children.

On Oct. 5 an attempt was made by a 20-year-old youth named Goldenberg to assassinate Alexander Vayda-Voevod, Minister of the Interior. The would-be assassin, pursued and arrested, told the police that his motive was revenge, for the shooting, by soldiers, of thirty striking miners at Lupeni two months before. He was also said to have admitted that he was a Communist and that he had been chosen by lot to assassinate the Minister. It was alleged at Bucharest, as reported on Oct. 6, that this attempt was part of a terrorist plot instigated by Russian Communists.

POLAND—In anticipation of the opening of the budget session of the Sejm some time in October, government leaders and members of parliament engaged in a fresh round of characteristic bickering. The main point at issue was whether a joint budgetary conference between the government (with Marshal Pilsudski participating) and the Sejm parties should take place. All parties of the Left and Centre except the governmental group announced that they would have no share in the proposed meeting, and demanded that the Sejm be called into session immediately. Pilsudski published a vindictive article denouncing the parties; M. Daszynski, marshal of the Sejm, published a reply declaring that the deputies wanted regular sessions of the legislative body rather than

unofficial conferences with the government, and saying, among other things, that even if the Sejm consisted entirely of members who were content with the present plan of government it would not find favor in Marshal Pilsudski's eyes, owing to his hatred and disdain for the Sejm as an institution. On Oct. 8 it was reported that the Marshal had called off a projected health trip to Italy as the danger of a vote of no confidence in his government at the Sejm's opening session loomed.

HUNGARY—The democratization of Rumanian newspaper *Adevarul*, the some months ago, is apparently not to be realized very soon or go very far. In a speech at the unveiling of a war memorial at Mako on Sept. 26, Regent Horthy asserted that Hungarian workmen can expect to participate in the government only if they produce men like Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson and Philip Snowden, who defended the interests of England at The Hague with such astonishing success. Apparently answering the recent request of the Opposition for secret voting facilities for the peasants, the Regent declared that Hungary was in too dangerous a situation to permit a leap in the dark. Premier Bethlen, on his return from a three months' vacation early in October, expressed similar views, declaring that though he favored the secret ballot and freedom of the press and of public assembly as much as his opponents, he did not believe the time was yet ripe for introducing Western democracy into Hungary.

BULGARIA—According to the Rumanian newspaper *Adevarul*, the old plan for a marriage between King Boris of Bulgaria and Princess Ileana of Rumania has been revived. As the world is now aware, the more recent proposal for the marriage of Boris to the Italian Princess Giovanna failed, largely because of the opposition of the Holy See to a union of a Catholic Princess with a ruler who professed the Greek Orthodox faith.

Fall of Lithuanian Dictatorship

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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THE Lithuanian Cabinet, headed by Professor Augustinas Woldemaras, resigned in a body on Sept. 19 and thus brought to a close nearly three years of undemocratic dictatorship in the country.

Professor Woldemaras became Premier of Lithuania on Dec. 18, 1926, when the former government was overthrown by a military coup. The dictatorship which he established rested primarily upon the support given it by the semi-military society known as "The Iron Wolf" (similar in organization and tactics to the Blackshirts of Italy and the Heimwehr of Austria) and the army. Lately only one of the political parties, the ultra-conservative nationalists (Tautininkai) had backed him. The strength of this group is best shown by the fact that it obtained three out of eighty-five seats in the Sejm in the elections of May, 1926. The dictatorship was at first supported also by the Catholic party, which, however, soon went over to the opposition. Having at first tried to rule the country with the assistance of Parliament, Woldemaras dismissed it in April, 1927, and played the part of an undisguised dictator from that time on.

His régime was marked by violent disputes before the League of Nations with Polish representatives, most of the exchanges having grown out of the seizure of Vilna, the historic Lithuanian capital, by Polish troops in October, 1921. Lithuania and Poland remained technically at war over this question for seven years. In December, 1927, the subject came up before the League of Nations, and after both sides had expressed a hope for peace it was referred back to direct negotia-

tions. These, however, were without success and brought a warning from the League in September of last year.

One of the points on which Professor Woldemaras had to withstand much criticism was the fact that the new Constitution adopted by his government named Vilna as the proper capital of Lithuania. He repeatedly accused Poland of nourishing aggressive intentions against the smaller country and climaxed his accusations when he declared that the Polish Government had been responsible for an attempt to assassinate him which was made on May 6, 1929. His aide was killed while shielding his chief from the assassin's bullets, and a young nephew was seriously wounded. Several students were executed after being convicted of complicity in the shooting plot. M. Woldemaras sent a note to the League of Nations in July charging that the Polish Government, or its agents, had a connection with the attempt on his life. This was categorically denied by Poland, which made formal reply to the charges on Aug. 8.

These tactics aroused opposition even within the rabid nationalist group of which Woldemaras was the leader, and ultimately led to internal dissension within the Woldemaras-Smetona camp culminating in the resignation of Woldemaras and his colleagues.

The new Cabinet was formed on Sept. 23. It is headed by M. Tubelis and includes the following: M. Musteikis (Interior), Gilinskis (Justice), Schakianis (Education), Aleksa (Agriculture), Wariakois (War), Wileischis (Communications). All the members of the ministry belong to the extreme right of the conservative nationalists,

and the government is thus only an improved edition of its predecessor. The new Premier issued a statement of policy on the 26th, including a return to normal constitutionalism, elections for the local governments as early as possible, and later for the Sejm and for President, and also a gradual modification of the military censorship restrictions. The foreign policy is to remain unchanged regarding the Vilna question, but envisages a close rapprochement with the Baltic States, Latvia and Estonia.

NORWAY—When the union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved in 1905, and Norway began her present independent existence, the provisions of the settlement between the two countries were embodied in the Karlsbad Convention. It provided that any disputes arising in the future between the parties to the convention, which could not be settled by direct diplomatic negotiation, should be referred to the Hague International Arbitration Tribunal. It also provided for the establishment of a neutral zone along the frontier separating the two countries, on which no military fortifications should ever be erected.

The question of wiping out the neutral zone because it has on occasion offended Norwegian sensibilities was tentatively urged in 1927, when the minority of the Norwegian Committee on Foreign Relations suggested such a course in connection with the arbitration treaty which was negotiated at the time. The same point was made on Sept. 13 by Mr. C. L. Rolfsen, former Minister of Justice. Writing in the *Aftenposten*, he pointed out that no danger to Sweden or Norway would result from the abolition of the zone, and suggested that their amicable relations would only gain thereby.

The office of the Storting issued on Sept. 28 the Labor party's constitutional proposal. Leaving aside a couple of minor proposals relative to the composition of the Supreme Court, the bill includes the following significant changes: Paragraph 105 of the pres-

ent Constitution provides for compensation for expropriated property; it is now urged that a special general law shall determine in each case whether and to what extent compensation shall be permitted. The ninety-seventh section declaring against *ex post facto* laws will be omitted. The practice of issuing laws in the name and over the seal of the King will be discontinued, and the courts will be deprived of the right to pass upon the constitutionality of laws. The suspensive veto of the King, and his right to open and close the sessions of Parliament will be likewise abolished. Another notable departure from the present Constitution is the omission of the section providing for conscription. *Tidens Tegn* summarized the proposals on the 30th by saying that they "give the Storting dictatorial powers."

FINLAND—That the internal political situation in the country is undergoing a change was indicated by a dispatch issued on Sept. 26. It dealt with the relation of the Swede-Finns and the Social-Democrats. These two groups have worked together in recent years on various occasions, largely because the former have considered co-operation with the Socialists a safeguard against the extreme nationalists, while the Socialists have obtained added support for their policies by joining hands with the Swede-Finns. The implied alliance has been intermittent, and has not prevented serious clashes on a number of matters, but it has become a recognized factor in the cross-currents of national politics.

The entente was imperiled by the controversy centring around the German Waldorf concern, which recently obtained extensive timber holdings in Finland and is now constructing huge lumber mills in eastern Finland. The company imported a number of skilled technical experts from Germany. The labor organizations protested against this form of foreign competition, while the main sheets of the Swedish People's party found nothing objectionable in it. In consequence there may be an im-

portant realignment of the political groups in the country.

The liquor smugglers became increasingly active during the month of September. With the coming of dark nights the purveyors of illegal intoxicants became bolder. Several clashes between customs officials and smugglers, confiscations of liquor and arrests occurred in the latter half of the month. A fast cruiser which was estimated to have unloaded at least 160,000 liters of alcohol was captured in Tornea. An incident which nearly resulted in international complication occurred on the 14th when a Finnish coast guard ship was fired upon by an Estonian patrol boat, while the former was pursuing a smuggler. The Foreign Ministry lodged a protest with Tallinn on the 19th. The matter was satisfactorily explained four days later when it was learned that the Estonian ship had also been pursuing a smuggler and took the Finnish craft for the guilty offender.

An indication of the trend that prohibition seems to be taking is given by statistics published on Sept. 11 showing the number of convictions for violations of the prohibition law during August. The figures for the main offenses were (those for August, 1928, are given in parentheses) as follows: manufacture, 25 (25); sale, 133 (103); smuggling, 122 (50); transportation, 122 (122); the total number of convictions in this category was 589, while the figure for 1928 was 428.

It was reported on Sept. 24 that twelve Finnish shipping companies had made a claim against the United States Government for damages arising out of the sequestration of thirteen of their ships in American ports in 1918.

SWEDEN—Ratifications of the arbitration treaty concluded with France on March 3, 1928, were exchanged on Sept. 3. The treaty was concluded for a ten-year period and became operative upon the exchange of ratifications. It covers all possible dispute.

It was announced on Sept. 23 that

the State would pay, according to the decision of Parliament, the losses sustained by depositors when the Allmänna Sparbanken closed its doors last Spring. The so-called school savings accounts and deposits of trust funds will be paid in full, while the other depositors will be reimbursed as follows: accounts of less than 2,000 kroner, 60 per cent; those between 2,000 and 5,000 kroner, 50 per cent; 5,000 to 10,000 kroner, 40 per cent, and 30 per cent on deposits from 10,000 to 20,000 kroner. No compensation is provided for deposits which exceed 20,000 kroner.

The internal strife within the Swedish Communist party became during the month the most important feature in the field of politics. The minority, working in close cooperation with Moscow, it was reported on Sept. 26, was at loggerheads with the majority, unwilling to accept the dictates of the Russian leaders. The majority is led by M. Kilbom, editor of *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, the main organ of the Communists. M. Kilbom was excommunicated from the International but continued to receive the support of the main body of the group.

The Stockholm labor market improved so considerably that the municipal unemployment committee decided to dissolve.

DENMARK—The Faroe Lagting closed its session on Sept. 26. During its deliberations, which extended over two months, the question of home rule was again debated. The Home Rule party and the Social-Democrats favored the establishment of a Provincial Assembly similar to the assembly granted by Finland to the Aaland Islands, because self-government along these lines would secure a considerable degree of independence from Danish control. The Union party took the stand that the present relations between Denmark and the islands do not warrant any revision, and refused to subscribe to the demands of the Socialists and the Home Rule group.

One of the prominent supporters of

the Radical group now in office, Dr. Lis Jacobsen, made a statement relative to the views of those elements within the Radical camp that seem to be unwilling to support the proposed disarmament program to the limit. Dr. Jacobsen held that the only worthy policy for the country is one "which will not repudiate Denmark's international obligations and will not place her in a dangerous and humiliating position in the eyes of the world." However, the *Politik* maintained on Sept. 16 that the Radical Left still unanimously adheres to the policy which brought it victory in the last elections. It pointed out that opposition to military defenses had long been a part of the party's program and maintained that it would insist upon its program being carried out.

ESTONIA—The Minister of Commerce issued a telegraphic order on Sept. 15 raising the customs duties.

Textiles and leather goods were primarily affected, the increase amounting to 100 to 150 per cent. Before the new schedule went into effect the government had obtained guarantees from Estonian business men to the effect that the raise would not mean higher prices for the consumer. The measure constituted a definite departure from the old tariff policy relative to textiles and leather products, the earlier duties on them having been inconsiderable.

The policy of the government was supported by all parties represented in the present Ministry, with the exception of the People's party. Its stand has been for some time that increased protection is unwarranted. The Socialists objected on the ground that increased prices would be the result of the revision of the schedules, and the *Kaja*, the main organ of the Agrarians, demanded on Sept. 16 that agricultural no less than industrial products should be given adequate protection.

THE SOVIET UNION

Food Scarcity in the Soviet Union

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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THE CLOSE of the Soviet Russian fiscal year on Sept. 30 is the occasion for a general survey of the economic progress of the year. Detailed analyses are not yet available, but enough statistical material has been made public to permit the student of Russian affairs to form a rough but fairly accurate estimate of the economic position. Mention was made last month of the noteworthy progress of agriculture during the year just past, with reference particularly to the success of the five-year socialization program and the general improvement of agricultural efficiency. This impression is strengthened by a review of agrarian statistics made public on Oct. 1 by S. Ordjonikidze, head of the Central Con-

trol Committee of the Communist party, which disclosed so favorable a condition that Soviet officials are now of the opinion that the objectives of the five-year program can be reached in four, or even in three, years. Of immediate importance is the record of grain collections during the past two months, which has surpassed the government's expectations.

Yet the city inhabitants of Soviet Russia are still on the food card system, and in mid-September the Moscow Soviet was obliged to reduce the official ration, especially of non-cereal foods. The new ration is to consist of three and two-thirds ounces of meat per day for all except manual laborers, who are given seven ounces, and an allowance

of fifteen eggs for each family per month with an additional ration for children under 8 years of age. Similar economizing of food is a feature of the ration systems of other urban centres. These actual prevailing conditions do not harmonize well with the official optimism with regard to the agrarian situation. The discrepancy between them is, in part, a measure of the inefficiency of the Soviet distributive system—a fault which is frankly admitted in official circles. But it is also in part an indication that the Soviet régime has not yet solved its major problem of absorbing the peasantry into the framework of the socialist economy. Agricultural production has increased during the year, it is true; but, aside from the bread crops, the produce of the farms has remained in increasing proportions in the hands of the peasants. The peasantry as a whole, even those connected with the State-aided collective farms, have preferred to consume their food crops themselves, or feed them to their live stock as an alternative to sale at the low prices set by the Soviet agencies.

The root cause of this difficulty is, of course, the failure of Soviet Russia's industrial structure to supply an abundance of factory products for exchange against the output of the farms. In this regard, the record of the year has been disappointing. Although there has been a large increase in factory production, costs have been slow to fall, and the quality of the product has tended to deteriorate. This is admitted by the Soviet spokesmen and the fault attributed to a scarcity of skilled workers and efficient managers, a consequence of Soviet Russia's backward industrial condition complicated by the revolution, one effect of which was to dissipate the existing supply of trained technicians. Much has been done in the way of obtaining the services of foreign, and especially American, experts; but the tendency to suspect these foreigners of counter-revolutionary leanings has not promoted this policy.

Lately the government has been at-

tacking the problem of industrial efficiency through increasingly severe measures dealing with labor discipline. The most recent of these measures was the decree of Sept. 7, giving virtually dictatorial authority to factory managers and destroying the authority of the labor unions. Under this order trade unions in Soviet Russia are placed on a footing almost identical with that of the company unions of this country, which have been the object of scorn and ridicule in Communist circles everywhere. This reduction of the privileged labor class and the aggressive socialization program in agriculture are the two outstanding elements in the social policy of the year.

The foreign trade of Soviet Russia at the close of the fiscal year is apparently in a stronger position than twelve months ago. An unfavorable balance of \$89,000,000 has been turned into a credit balance of almost \$20,000,000, an important consideration in view of Soviet Russia's need for foreign purchasing power and her lack of credit standing. But analysis of the figures gives reason to question the accuracy of their testimony to the improvement of Russia's economic condition. The change in the balance has been produced by forcing exports up some \$40,000,000 and reducing imports by nearly \$90,000,000. Both of these policies have involved a temporary impoverishment of the country and, what is more important, an additional burden upon the peasant. For the arbitrary expansion of exports has meant an increased scarcity of the factory products of which there is so great a dearth in the villages; while the reduction of imports has been promoted by a rigid exclusion of foreign articles of consumption which might otherwise supply these needs.

Several items in the news of the month record the continued growth of relationships between American business and Soviet Russia. A \$40,000,000 contract for the erection of a model industrial city north of Nizhni-Novgorod has been awarded to the Austin Com-

pany of Cleveland. The project, which provides for a city of 20,000 inhabitants and an automobile factory with a capacity of 500,000 cars annually, must be completed in fifteen months. Russian workmen will be employed, but machinery and equipment totaling nearly \$20,000,000 in value will be imported from this country. Another project of even greater scope provides for the reclamation of waste lands in Russian Turkestan over an area as large as the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Arthur Powell Davies, formerly chief of the United States Reclamation Service, will head a staff of thirty American engineers in general charge of this enterprise. The Russian Government has set aside \$250,000,000 for the work, whose ultimate objective is to supply Russia with cotton sufficient for her needs. A third contract involves the purchase of the entire plant of two American watch companies for removal to Russia. In this case, too, American engineers will have charge of reassembling the machinery in Moscow and the subsequent operation of the enterprise. Thus far American engineers and technical advisers in Russia have been exempt from such interference by the police as has handicapped the activities and even endangered the lives of certain German and other foreign experts. This may be due to more careful abstention from political activity by our nationals; or it may be interpreted as evidence of a greater solicitude on the part of the Kremlin to promote friendly relations with this country.

Mr. Henderson, British Foreign Minister, has at last found a way to overcome the difficulties which have prevented an agreement with Russia with regard to the resumption of diplomatic relations. The two countries have been divided over the question of the method to be followed, Russia demanding full diplomatic recognition and an exchange of Ambassadors as a condition precedent to any discussion of grievances, while Great Britain insisted upon preliminary guarantees covering the cessation of Communist propaganda in the British Empire and the payment of

British financial claims against Moscow. The conference in July broke up in disagreement over this point with nothing accomplished. A second attempt, beginning on Sept. 23, with conversations in London between the Soviet envoy M. Dvlgalevsky and Mr. Henderson, resulted in an announcement on Oct. 1 that the two countries had reached agreement.

According to this announcement, Russia has won a victory over the point at issue in that steps will be taken at once to restore full diplomatic relations, including an exchange of Ambassadors, while the question of British grievances will be left for future settlement. However, a concession was made to the British position in the form of an agreement to incorporate in this original announcement a list of the questions outstanding between the two governments to be settled by subsequent negotiation. This list makes no mention of the question of propaganda, which is referred to elsewhere in the communiqué as having been settled. The meaning of this rather cryptic statement was clarified by the British Foreign Office on Oct. 4, through the publication of the full text of the new Anglo-Russian protocol, which repeats the language of Article XVI of the treaty of 1924 binding both parties to refrain from subversive propaganda and to use restraint upon all persons or organizations within their jurisdiction. Both the original statement and the protocol contain significant clauses referring to "claims and counterclaims, inter-governmental and private debts arising out of intervention and otherwise, and financial quotations connected with such claims and counterclaims." This is the nearest approach that Moscow has ever made to an open acknowledgment of the justice of foreign claims arising from the Bolshevik revolution; and it is noteworthy that the acknowledgment is coupled with Moscow's "counterclaim arising out of intervention." Great Britain estimates the extent of her claim against Russia at \$1,500,000,000, made up of \$900,000,000 for private property, \$325,000,-

000 for Russian bonds, and \$200,000,000 for miscellaneous claims—mostly of private citizens. This amount is double the total claimed by our own country, which has proved an insuperable obstacle in the way of Russian recognition by the United States. But Russia's counterclaim against Britain, like her bill of damages against us, based as it is upon the general charge of illegal intervention in her affairs during the period of the counter-revolution, is of an indefinitely extensible magnitude which might well be stretched far enough to leave a balance in her favor.

The agreement to restore diplomatic relations with Russia must be ratified by Parliament before it becomes binding upon the government of Great Britain. There is, therefore, a chance that the plans of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Dovgalevsky will miscarry. Stanley Baldwin has recently assured the Labor Government that any proposal to re-establish relations with Russia unless accompanied by the guarantees upon which Great Britain has been insisting will meet with the unqualified opposition of the Conservative party.

Two other items of significance in the foreign affairs of the Soviet Union are the reaffirmation of Poland's treaty of alliance with France, which occurred on Sept. 1, and the increasing friction between Moscow and Berlin, which has been apparent throughout the past six weeks. The Franco-Polish pact has always been viewed with suspicion by Soviet Russia since it is one of a series of similar treaties between France and the small nations of Eastern Europe, whose joint effect is to hedge in Russia's Western frontier with an alliance of distrustful States. The reaffirmation of this treaty is discouraging to Soviet Russia's hope that her recent non-aggression pacts with Poland and her neighbors might prove effective in dissolving this alliance and reducing France's hegemony in Eastern Europe.

Ostensibly the present friction with Germany grows out of the situation in Manchuria. Upon the rupture of diplomatic relations with China, Soviet Rus-

sia entrusted the care of her nationals to the German embassy. In the past such an arrangement has been considered little more than a diplomatic formality involving but the vaguest responsibility for the State accepting the charge. But in this case, the Moscow government, through the Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs, M. Litvinov, has assailed Germany for her laxity and supineness in the discharge of her duties, implying that the German Consuls in China are morally responsible for the persecution of Soviet citizens in Manchuria. This has led to an exchange of notes between the two chancelleries, and has aroused acrimonious discussion in the Soviet Russian and German press. But the real causes of disagreement probably lie deeper. German opinion on Soviet Russian affairs has never really recovered from the effect of the Shakta trial last year when German engineers were put on trial for their lives on charges of sabotage and criminal conspiracy. Soviet opinion, on the other hand, has remained violently embittered by the ruthless suppression of the Communist demonstration in Berlin on May 1, and the general strike on Aug. 1. Behind this popular feeling there exists a growing conviction in official Soviet circles that the importance of economic relations with Germany has been overrated. The revised trade agreement concluded last Fall with Germany has had disappointing results. No new credits of any size have been forthcoming; German commercial activity in Russia has not been stimulated, nor has German capital been induced to undertake new industrial concessions. This moderating of Soviet hopes for aid from Germany has combined with the popular resentment of which we have spoken to change the tone and the policy of the Kremlin in its relations with Berlin; while the attitude in Germany has, at the same time, grown more courageous and aggressive. The quarrel over the fate of Russian nationals in Manchuria is but a symptom of this new orientation of the foreign policy of the two countries.

British Plan for Independence of Iraq

By ALBERT H. LYBYER

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ANNOUNCEMENT WAS made in Bagdad on Sept. 19 that the British Government had decided to recommend the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations in 1932 without conditions. This implies that Great Britain will before that date surrender her mandate over Iraq, and accept instead a treaty arrangement similar to that proposed between Great Britain and Egypt. If that analogy be followed, the British would be expected to maintain some troops for the protection of the oil fields and air communications near Basra, as they will maintain troops for the protection of the Suez Canal. The announcement of British intentions was as follows:

After the suspension last Winter of negotiations between the Iraq and British Governments for the revision of the financial and military agreements, the Iraq Government considered it advisable to direct attention to another means by which the country's aspirations might be realized, namely, the termination of the operation of existing treaties by the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations.

Accordingly, the Iraq Government discussed the matter with the late Sir Gilbert Clayton, who expressed his willingness to support Iraq's point of view and to address the British Government on the subject with all possible expedition. When the Labor Cabinet came into office Sir Gilbert Clayton proceeded to impress it with the necessity for an early decision on the Iraq proposals. A reply has now been received from the British Government in the following terms:

First, Great Britain is prepared to support Iraq's candidacy for admission to the League in 1932.

Secondly, Great Britain will inform

the Council of the League at its next session of Great Britain's decision not to proceed with the Treaty of 1927.

Thirdly, Great Britain will inform the Council of the League at its next session, in January, that, in accordance with Article III of the Anglo-Iraq treaty of 1926, it proposes to recommend Iraq for membership in the League in 1932.

This decision is pleasing to a considerable section of the British people, which has regretted occasional periods of friction between the British Government and the leading men of Iraq, as well as the continuing expense, which is estimated to have amounted to \$1,000,000,000 in the last ten years.

Upon receipt of the British announcement, the prolonged Cabinet crisis was resolved by the consent of Sir Abdul Muhsin es Saadum to head a new Cabinet, in which was included as Minister of Finance the strongly nationalistic Yashin Pasha Hashimi. The new Prime Minister expressed satisfaction with the British announcement, and voiced Iraq's demands for complete independence. He said: "In view of this conviction, I have accepted the King's call to form a new government and sincerely hope a spirit of comradeship will prevail among British and Iraq officials alike. I call upon all officials strictly to observe the provisions of the Constitution and warn them against any deviation therefrom."

The British obtained possession of Bagdad on March 11, 1917. On Nov. 7, 1918, after the conclusion of an armistice with Turkey, at that time the legal owner of Iraq, the British Government jointly with the French issued a proclamation in this and other Arab

lands, stating their aims to be "to complete the final enfranchisement of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of national governments and administrations, drawing their authority from the initiative and free choice of native populations." The British were somewhat slow in beginning the application of this policy, and the people of Iraq arose in 1920. They were defeated with considerable expense and trouble, and it was decided in the following year that a kingdom might well be set up. Prince Feisal was made King on Aug. 23, 1921. On Oct. 10, 1922, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Iraq, to remain in force twenty years. By a protocol of April 30, 1923, it was agreed that the treaty should terminate when Iraq should be admitted to the League of Nations, or at any rate not later than four years after the ratification of a treaty of peace with Turkey. The decision of the Mosul question led however to a new treaty, which was ratified on March 30, 1926, extending the original treaty until Dec. 16, 1950, unless before that time Iraq should be admitted to the League of Nations. The last provision constitutes the reason why the new British proposal is of primary importance for the independence of Iraq.

The draft of a new treaty was prepared in December, 1927. While in most respects similar to the second treaty, this instrument proposed to call Iraq an independent State and to contemplate that country's admission to the League in 1932. Differences of opinion arose promptly between the two governments as regards new financial and

military arrangements. The questions of the introduction of conscription into Iraq and whether there should be any participation of Great Britain in the cost of the defense of the country were found insoluble up to the present time.

Largely through the influence of the British High Commissioners, Sir Henry Dobbs and Sir Gilbert Clayton, the relations of Iraq with all her neighbors have become remarkably good. The boundary with Turkey was settled in 1926 and those with Transjordan and Nejd soon thereafter. Within the last few months difficulties which had arisen with King Ibn Saud over policing the areas near the common frontier quieted down, with the conviction in Iraq that this King was doing his utmost to promote peace along the border. At about the same time difficulties of long standing with the Persian Government were settled.

Sir Gilbert Clayton, High Commissioner for Iraq, died suddenly at Baghdad on Sept. 11, after having held this responsible office only seven months. Thus came to an end a life which had seen more than thirty years of service to the British Government, mostly in the Near East. After the great war Sir Gilbert held responsible posts in Egypt and Palestine, and negotiated frontier treaties with King Ibn Saud. At the time of his death he was furthering plans to settle all disputes between Iraq and Nejd and to bring Iraq as soon as possible into the League of Nations. He was disposed also to push energetically the economic progress of the country. Sir Francis Humphreys, recently British Minister in Afghanistan, was invited to accept the vacant post.

The Situation in Palestine

THE commission of inquiry into the causes of the recent disturbances in Palestine consists of Sir Walter Shaw, formerly Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, chairman; Sir Henry D. Begg, Conservative member of Parliament; Mr. R. Hopkins Mor-

ris, Liberal member of Parliament, and Mr. Henry Snell, Labor member of Parliament. After an early decision to proceed immediately to Palestine, various postponements were made on the ground of giving sufficient time for preparation of material in Palestine.

The Palestinian situation continued to be a matter of great importance in the press of the world. All parts of the country gradually quieted down, and most of the extraordinary precautions came to an end. A hundred tall policemen were recruited in England and added to the force in Palestine. Under the fear of severe punishment both Arabs and Jews kept the peace in nearly all circumstances. They continued, however, to attack each other verbally, and to make representations in favor of their own side of the case before the outside world. Their increased ill feeling against each other continued to be shown by boycotts of each other's businesses. On account of the intimate relations which had grown up, particularly in the supply by Jews to Arabs of manufactured and imported goods, and by Arabs to Jews of vegetables, fruit and other foodstuffs, the boycott caused heavy losses to both groups.

Each people professes confidence that the British commission will find in its favor. The Jews hope for a further advance in the plan for the national home. The Arabs hope that this plan will be abandoned and that Palestine may have self-government and a treaty with Great Britain similar to those which Egypt and Iraq are to have.

Investigations have shown that many of the accusations of the early days of the recent trouble were exaggerated. The charge that Arabs had mutilated the bodies of dead Jews were not borne out by exhumations. Certain places reported damaged were found to have suffered very little or not at all.

Much was said about the payment of damages for losses incurred during the time of trouble. Jews who had suffered and their spokesmen outside Palestine emphasized the responsibility of the British Government to an extent perhaps prejudicial to their cause, considering that the British have been administering Palestine at a considerable cost to themselves and endeavoring there to promote the establishment of the Jewish national home. For example, a Zionist committee in London said that "the Jewish Agency expects pay-



THE PALESTINE MANDATE

Britannia: "They gave me the scales of Justice and her sword. I have used the scales; I had hoped not to use the sword"

—Punch, London

ment by the Palestine Administration of full compensation to the Jews for losses and damage sustained to health, property and otherwise, and requests that arrangements be promptly made for the ascertainment and assessment of these losses."

The British Government in Palestine worked actively in arresting and trying persons guilty of murder, attempted murder and robbery. Many were sentenced to longer or shorter terms of imprisonment.

It was announced late in September that the group of Zionists known as "Revisionists," under the leadership of Vladimir Jabotinsky, had seceded from the World Zionist Organization, whose policies they feel to be needlessly too mild and insufficiently insistent upon measures for the rapid promotion of the national home idea.

Opinions have been expressed to the effect that, in spite of the vigorous declaration by the British that they have the fullest intention of continuing to promote the Jewish national home in

Palestine, nevertheless they will proceed in the near future toward its abandonment. To maintain it means the indefinite prolongation of the Palestinian mandate at a time when Great Britain is getting out of Egypt and Iraq. It threatens the embroilment of Great Britain with those two countries and with other parts of the Moslem world. Not only is it in marked contrast with conditions in Egypt and Iraq, but even Syria, with all its grievances against the French, boasts of a more peaceful and settled condition than its neighbor Palestine.

By the end of September the contributions to the Palestine Emergency Fund for the relief of the victims of the recent troubles had reached a total of more than \$1,750,000. Beginning about Sept. 10, Sir John Chancellor, the British High Commissioner in Palestine, undertook on behalf of the government to provide food for the 9,000 Jewish refugees in Palestine. Other re-

lief funds were thereafter devoted to housing, clothing, medical aid and infant welfare.

TURKEY—The new Turkish penal code, translated from the German penal code, was put into force on Aug. 20. After Sept. 4 imprisonment for debt ceased to be lawful in Turkey, and all who were at that time imprisoned on account of debt were released.

The report comes from Angora that Turkish schools have been ordered to cease instruction in the Arabic and Persian languages and substitute therefor the study of Latin and Greek. At the same time also all schools have been required to introduce the study of the English language.

The Turkish customs tariff came into operation on Oct. 1. Most duties were increased greatly, and the goods which Turkey can produce were protected by prohibitive rates. By an agreement of July 2, 1929, the new tariff was made inapplicable to British goods until after April 1, 1930.

EGYPT—Sir Percy Loraine, the new British High Commissioner in Egypt, left London on Aug. 27 and reached Cairo on Sept. 2.

Mohammed Mahmud Pasha resigned the office of Prime Minister of Egypt on Oct. 2, and King Fuad sent for Adly Pasha Yeghen and asked him to assume the office temporarily, until elections could be held and the country again placed upon a constitutional footing. Mohammed Mahmud had held office since June 25, 1928, governing without Parliament since July 19, 1928. Adly Pasha has twice before served as Prime Minister, in 1921 and again from June, 1926, to April 1, 1927. He has kept himself dissociated from active party life. It is expected that as soon as elections can be held the Wafd or Nationalist party will come into power, upon which their leader Mustapha Pasha Nahas will become Prime Minister. Rumor has it that the Wafd leaders have reached an understanding with the British Government by which in exchange for their unopposed coming into



PALESTINE

"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"

—*Simplicissimus, Munich*

office they will ratify the proposed treaty with little or no change.

Correspondence from Washington indicates that the United States Government will not oppose the surrender of extraterritorial rights on the part of Americans in Egypt. It is possible, of course, that a transitional period may be desired until the local courts prove themselves capable of fair and impartial treatment for foreigners. It is not expected that our government will claim special rights as regards the protection of Christian natives of Egypt, even though they may have been converted to Christianity by American missionaries.

Great Britain is expected to maintain 4,000 troops near the Suez Canal after the ratification of the treaty with Egypt. The Egyptian Government is expected to build barracks, houses for officers, and other necessary buildings, besides providing land, roads and a water supply.

SYRIA—Much sympathy has been shown among the Arabs of Syria for the troubles of the Arabs of Pales-

tine. They have held many mass meetings and parades and individuals have attempted usually to cross the frontier into Palestine.

Recent outbreaks of brigandage on the road between Beirut and Damascus indicate that Syrian conditions are not as thoroughly in hand as has been reported of late.

ARABIA—In September King Ibn Saud conducted an expedition against Sheik Feisal al-Dowish of the Mutair confederation. Sixty tribesmen were slain in a battle in which was killed the son of the rebel chieftain.

PERSIA—The twenty-third report of the Ministry of Finance of Persia differs from its predecessors in covering a period twice as long, for the six months ended Sept. 22, 1928. Another very interesting difference appears in the fact that no American appears among the foreign employes of the Ministry, whose number, moreover, has been reduced to twelve. The revenues as a whole show a noteworthy increase over those of previous periods.

THE FAR EAST

Chinese Government Faced With New Military Revolt

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND FAR EASTERN RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;
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DURING SEPTEMBER the National Government met its third test of strength when General Chang Fa-kuei, stationed with an army known as the "Ironsides" at Ichang, on the Yangtse River in Hupeh province, declared himself in revolt. General Chang took a notable part in the revolutionary campaigns by which the present government was established.

Denying at first that any trouble

existed at Ichang, the government subsequently admitted that it viewed the situation seriously. It was obliged to take action aimed at preventing Chang Fa-kuei's forces from moving southward and combining with the disaffected Kwangsi troops recently menacing Canton. Before quitting Ichang, Chang inflicted considerable losses upon Nationalist forces approaching the city on transports. He was reported to have gained control of the river bank for

fifty miles from Ichang southeastward.

Tension at Hankow and Canton was somewhat eased by a government report that its forces, aided by a freshet in the Feng River, Hunan province, had defeated Chang's rebel troops, killing many, disarming 3,000 and dispersing the remainder. The lack of confirmatory despatches from private sources, due to a rigid censorship, rendered acceptance of the report difficult. That foreign officials in China continued apprehensive was evidenced by the dispatch of the American gunboat *Mariposa* and three destroyers and the British gunboat *Cicala* early in October to Wuchow, Kwangsi, to cover a possible evacuation of foreigners in the event of hostilities.

Concurrent with the revolt of Chang Fa-kuei was the publication of a scathing manifesto by the left wing of the Kuomintang, now spoken of as the "Reorganizationists," denouncing President Chiang and the whole government group. It bore the signatures of Wang Ching-wei, Chen Kung-po and ten other members of the central executive committee which controlled the Nationalist Party before the third congress of the party, held last March. Ten charges were laid against the governing junta—corruption, "spoils" in appointments, extravagance, application of troop disbandment loans to purchase the support of mercenary militarists, legalized murder, failure to carry out reconstruction, retardation of treaty revision through maladministration, truckling to Japan in the Shantung settlement, unnecessary prolongation of despotic government, and the stifling of all opposition within the party itself.

Other straws to indicate the direction and strength of the wind of opposition were the accusation of Yu Tsopei, supposedly loyal chairman of the Kwangsi Government, by Canton as planning another effort to overwhelm that city and the province of Kwangtung; the report, denied by the government, that General Ho Ying-ching, one of the most powerful members of the Kuomintang, had resigned his of-

fices; the sudden arrest and reported escape of Governor Fang Chen-wu of Anhui province on suspicion of connection with the conspiracy to assassinate President Chiang, and the reported gradual movement of the troops of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang southward. No clear evidence was reported upon which either Marshal Feng or former Governor Yen of Shansi could be connected with Chang Fa-kuei's moves, though rumors asserted the existence of a conspiracy. A report that several of Feng's subordinates had, with his approval, gone into conference with President Chiang rather indicated that the compromise of mutual toleration between the two leading strong men of the Kuomintang was being maintained.

Troops were sent not only toward Central China, to centre at Hankow, but also, to the number of 30,000, by sea to Canton. Four war planes were sent to the southern area of disturbance.

Reports to hand at this writing (Oct. 15) state that the revolt against the Nanking Government has spread north, south and west and that President Chiang's military advisers were urging him to shorten his lines and even give up Hankow.

No progress was reported during the month in regard to a settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute. The Chinese Government offered to allow the Soviet Government to appoint an assistant manager of the line to act until the dispute could be settled by negotiation, but remained obdurate to any suggestions for replacing the manager before a settlement could be reached. Moscow was apparently equally determined not to negotiate until replacement had occurred. Nanking officials expressed the belief that the Soviet tone had strengthened after the outbreak at Ichang and that a settlement with Russia would be retarded in consequence.

The border hostilities, which became intensified on Sept. 9, continued sporadically through the month, but with no apparent prospect of develop-

ing into actual war. The railway functioned well throughout its entire length, from Manchuli to Pogranichnaya, enabling the new Chinese Administration to point to its capability to handle the railway. It was assisted, however, by the fact that three-fourths of the Russian employes continued their service on the system.

Propaganda designed to arouse hatred against Soviet Russia was absent in China, while *Pravda*, officially inspired by the Soviet Government, continued to assert Russian willingness to take extreme measures. Resentment was expressed at the continued use of White Russians by Chinese Generals, which appeared to be a larger factor in Russian official feeling than the dilatory tactics of the Chinese Foreign Office. More effective supervision of the treatment of Soviet citizens and their property was requested by Moscow from the German Government. German official reports discounted private accounts of atrocities against Soviet citizens, but as such accounts cropped up day after day it was impossible to disregard them entirely. On the other hand, the Chinese Government published an estimate of damages sustained as the result of Russian raids, placing the amount at \$25,000,000.

The Chinese Foreign office issued a statement on July 18 as follows:

Delegates of the two countries had agreed on a joint declaration to be issued by both governments, as well as on the question of the appointment of a general manager and assistant managers of the railway. The final draft of the statement had been accepted by both sides, with slight modifications.

Russia demanded the immediate appointment of the new managers, while China insisted that they be not appointed before the opening of formal negotiations. The arrangement made on this point was agreeable to both, but Russia withdrew her approval of the terms for negotiation after being informed by secret agents that China was about to undergo possible political changes offering the possibility of opposition to the Chiang Kai-shek régime by Feng Yu-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan and Chang Hsueh-liang.

Prospects were entertained that the Soviet forces would go into Winter quarters along the Manchurian border. Alexei I. Rykov, President of the Council of Commissars, declared publicly that while the government would not resort to hostilities as long as a peaceful settlement seemed possible, it would, if necessary, re-enforce General Blücher's army and increase its effectiveness. In the same statement Rykov branded the documents published by Nanking in justification of its action in taking over the railway administration as forgeries.

Citing twenty-eight attacks upon Soviet territory by Chinese and Russian White soldiers between Sept. 10 and 23, several of which resulted in the killing of Russian non-combatants and robbery, the Soviet Government's note to China, via the German Foreign Office, on Sept. 25, conveyed a firm warning that henceforth necessary steps would be taken to combat and prevent such attacks and placed the responsibility for the existing guerilla warfare along the border upon the Nanking and Mukden Governments. The first week of October, however, saw the renewal of border attacks by both sides on a more sanguinary scale than previously, with each side accusing the other of taking the offensive.

An incident involving Chinese police and Japanese railway guards occurred at Tiehling, forty miles north of Mukden on Sept. 23. Three Japanese guards were wounded. A battalion of Japanese troops disarmed the Chinese police.

Dr. C. C. Wu, Chinese Minister at Washington, representing his government in the Assembly of the League of Nations, presented to that body a resolution which had an obvious bearing upon China's efforts to release herself from treaty obligations. Referring to Article XIX, by which "the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world," he argued that it should not be-

come a dead letter, and proposed that a committee be appointed to consider the best means of putting it into effective operation. The proposal created disquiet lest it might lead to an effort at revision of treaties other than those of China. In committee the Chinese view received the support of German, Indian, Hungarian, Haitian and Persian delegates. British and Belgian views favored a resolution recognizing the right of any member of the League to draw its attention to an apparently inapplicable treaty, which was subsequently passed.

The United States Government's reply to the Chinese Government's request of April 27, 1929, for the relinquishment of extraterritoriality, dispatched Aug. 10, was officially released by the Department of State on Sept. 4. The salient points of the American reply were that the government had been and would continue to be sympathetic toward Chinese wishes, that American practice had never sought to extend American rights beyond the purposes originally authorized by treaty, that "the United States has never sought to extend its sovereignty over any portion of the territory of China," that Chinese-American friendship is based upon the adequate provisions for their relations provided by the treaties, and that "the sudden abolition of the system of protection by its extraterritorial courts in the face of conditions prevailing in China today would in effect expose the property of American citizens to danger of unlawful seizure and place in jeopardy the liberty of the persons of American citizens." The American note referred to the report of the Washington Conference commission on extraterritoriality and said in conclusion:

Because of its friendship for the Chinese people and its desire, to which allusion has been already made, to relinquish as soon as possible, extraterritorial jurisdiction over its own citizens in China, my government has followed with attentive consideration this entire subject, including particularly the progress which has been made in carrying out its [i. e., the commission's] recom-

mendations since the rendition of this report. It fully appreciates the efforts which are being made in China to assimilate those Western juridical principles to which your government has referred in its note. But it would be lacking in sincerity and candor, as well as disregarding of its obligations toward its own nationals, if it did not frankly point out that the recommendations aforesaid have not been substantially carried out, and that there does not exist in China today a system of independent Chinese courts free from extraneous influence which is capable of adequately doing justice between Chinese and foreign litigants. My government believes that not until these recommendations are fulfilled in far greater measure than is the case today will it be possible for American citizens safely to live and do business in China and for their property adequately to be protected without the intervention of the Consular Courts.

In conclusion, my government has directed me to state that it observes with attentive and sympathetic interest the changes which are taking place in China. Animated as it is by the most friendly motives, and wishing as far as lies within its power to be helpful, the American Government would be ready, if the suggestion should meet with the approval of the Chinese Government, to participate in negotiations which would have as their object the devising of a method for the gradual relinquishment of extraterritorial rights either as to designated areas or as to particular kinds of jurisdiction, or as to both, provided that such gradual relinquishment proceeds at the same time as steps are taken and improvements are achieved by the Chinese Government in the enactment and effective enforcement of laws based on modern concepts of jurisprudence.

The British reply was equally firm in declining to relinquish consular jurisdiction at this time and failed to suggest such steps as those referred to in the last paragraph of the American note, though it envisaged "further modification" in the existing régime and states a cordial attitude toward such proposals as the Chinese Government may see fit to make. The replies of France and Holland also declined ac-

tion at present and expressed the hope of early improvement such as would enable them to relinquish their rights with safety to their nationals.

An agreement for the retrocession of the Belgian residential concession in Tientsin to China was signed by Belgian and Chinese plenipotentiaries at Tientsin on Aug. 31.

Book I, of the Civil Code of China, entitled "General Principles," published May 23, 1929, was issued in English translation by the government. Book II, "Obligations"; Book III, "Things"; Book IV, "Family Law," and Book V, "Inheritance," are to complete the civil code. The legislative *yuan* also adopted regulations for the establishment and functions of a supreme court.

Censorship of the press, "except in such special instances as may be considered necessary by the central authorities," was formally abolished by the government. All publications must register and their responsible officers must undergo examination. Concurrent with the news of this action was the report that three Japanese newspapers published in Shanghai had been refused the use of the mails. Dr. Hu Shih, noted Chinese philosopher and Cornell graduate, was ordered by the State Council to cease criticizing the government party and the ideas of Sun Yat-sen. College presidents and professors were warned against following Hu Shih's evil example.

The American Red Cross, upon the basis of a report of its investigating commission, decided on Sept. 27 not to undertake famine relief in China. The investigation took place between June 15 and the end of August of the present year. The resolution of the organization was largely devoted to strictures upon disorderly conditions and advice to the militarists responsible for them. While accepting the figure of 65,000,000 as a possible approximation of those at one time or another rendered destitute by the famine of 1928-29, the Red Cross committee's resolution did not attempt to state the present situation.

The Shanghai municipal electricity

plant was purchased by an American company on Aug. 8, 1929, for a consideration of 81,000,000 taels, or \$46,704,600 gold.

Events in Japan

GENERAL BARON GIICHI TANAKA, president of the Seiyukai party and Premier of Japan from April 20, 1927, to July 2, 1929, died in Tokio on Sept. 29, at the age of 66. The question of his successor as head of the Seiyukai was complicated by the fact that its vice president, Heikichi Ogawa, was in prison under charges of having, while Minister of Railways in the recent Tanaka Cabinet, accepted bribes from promoters of railway projects. The way, however, was believed by the numerous critics of the Tanaka methods, which might be described as combining civilian corruption with military arrogance, to be cleared for a party housecleaning. Prospects for success of the present government party, the Minseito, in the elections now predicted confidently for January or February, 1930, appeared to be improved. Several subordinate officials of the Tanaka Government have been imprisoned on charges of corruption, including N. Amaoka, President of the Board of Decorations.

The new government of Premier Hamaguchi appointed Viscount Saito to his former post as Governor General of Korea, in which he distinguished himself by his statesmanship and liberalism. Dr. M. Sengoku, former Minister of Railways and by training and career a railway expert, was made president of the South Manchuria Railway Company. Mr. Sadao Saburi, Counselor of Embassy in London, received the post of Minister to China.

The remarkable recovery of the yen continued, its exchange value rising to 48 cents at the end of September. Recession then occurred to 47.75. The rise was, apparently, due largely to purchases in Japan in anticipation of an early removal of the embargo on gold shipments.

World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH
ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Annalist*

THE MONTH has been crowded with developments of the first magnitude in importance in the financial world, and yet it is not difficult to select the one of outstanding importance. The increase in the discount rate of the Bank of England from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent beyond question deserves that distinction.

Unfavorable to Wall Street because it signified the cutting off of an important source of gold imports, and disturbing to the entire financial world because of its evidence of tightening credit conditions everywhere, the increase was nevertheless hailed with satisfaction.

By Sept. 25, the date of the increase, the bullion account of the Bank of England had declined to £133,212,000, a figure far below the minimum which had generally been accepted as the lower limit of safety. The immediate effect of the higher bank rate was to bring about a sharp rise in the sterling exchange rate at New York; but, curiously enough, the sterling rate on Paris was not greatly affected. French exchange remained below the gold export point and for several days gold continued to flow to Paris, so that on Oct. 2 the bullion account of the Bank of England showed a further disquieting decrease to £130,343,000. The situation seemed serious because the Bank of England, as the controller of the world's principal free market for gold, has traditionally held the power by raising its discount rate of drawing gold "from the bowels of the earth." With interest rates at London far above those at Paris, it seemed obvious that other than free economic forces were responsible for the continued drawing of gold from England to France.

The details of these rather dramatic incidents are interesting, but scarcely less so than the broader implications. European commentators were inclined to interpret the event solely in the light of the need for protective measures against the absorption of funds from all over the world by the speculative maelstrom in Wall Street, especially as the increase in the discount rate of the Bank of England was promptly followed by numerous other increases—the Bank of Denmark, from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; the Bank of Norway, from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent; the Bank of Sweden, from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; the National Bank of Austria, from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the Bank of Estonia, from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 per cent. Speculative activity in New York has, of course, been an important factor in creating present conditions of world-wide credit stringency. But there have been other impor-

tant factors, including undue speculative activity in other countries.

The collapse of the Hatry shares on the London Stock Exchange is an illustration of the latter point. These shares, headed by the Photomaton Parent Corporation and including the Associated Automatic Machine Company, the Corporation and General Securities, Ltd., the Oak Investment Trust and Retail Trade Securities, recently were great speculative favorites, their aggregate market value having been bid up to about \$50,000,000. On Sept. 20, however, the market prices of these issues declined so violently, nearly wiping out their entire former paper value, that trading in them was ordered suspended by the London Stock Exchange. The collapse had a profound effect on financial markets generally.

To it, indeed, may be attributed one cause of the severe decline which occurred in September on the New York Stock Exchange, since it brought about a heavy withdrawal of funds from New York to London, which in turn contributed to an unexpectedly severe pinch in the call-money market. Besides this influence, however, the stock market in September had to contend with an unusually large number of "bearish" developments, not least of which was the widely quoted speech of retiring President Craig B. Hazlewood before the annual convention of the American Bankers Association at San Francisco, in which he called attention to the dangers of the rapid increase in the amount of bank loans on securities. Such a warning from the responsible official of one of the largest individual banks in America was perhaps given more weight than would have been given to a similar warning from any other source, including the Federal Reserve Board. And, in addition, statistics on basic industrial activity for August had made it clear that the rate of business activity in the United States seemed likely to suffer the first real decline since the second half of the year 1927.

But the real reason for the reaction in stock prices, which was the worst since the memorable break of March, 1926, lay in the technical position of the market itself. Many issues in the preceding rise had been bid up far too rapidly for the good of the market in general, and the rise itself had generated a spirit of optimism in which it became possible for all sorts of enterprises to float new security issues. As a result, the aggregate value of new stock issues, most of which consisted of shares in newly formed investment trusts, holding companies and other enterprises

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of a more or less strictly financial nature, reached an unparalleled figure in the third quarter of the year. This tendency, in turn, contributed heavily to a rapid increase in brokers' loans, which at the end of September, according to figures compiled by the New York Stock Exchange, reached the enormous aggregate of more than \$8,500,000,000. There was plainly in this situation cause for concern whether, in the event of a continued decline in the stock market, these new security issues, which had scarcely had time to be completely distributed to the public, could be carried on bank loans without serious loss to some houses. There were rumors current at one time in Wall Street that a prominent Stock Exchange firm with international connections was in difficulties.

This matter was evidently quickly straightened out and the market itself rallied fairly sharply early in October, but among competent market observers there were some who were of the opinion that the unsound technical position of the market had not been completely rectified by the decline and that the peak made by the market averages on the second day of September definitely marked the end of the bull market in stocks.

As the year 1929 draws to a close the business world, at any rate, stands on the threshold of an unusually large number of new and important developments, many of which beyond question will tend to usher in a new era of prosperity but some of which at best can only be said to bear the germs of uncertainty and possible disturbance to business. The most favorable factor in the world credit situation is perhaps the progress which is being made toward the setting up of the International Bank. If this new central banking institution is finally founded on the broad plan indicated by the provisions of the Young plan, it will go a long way toward the solution of one of the most serious problems of the present century, a deficient gold supply. The annual world production of gold, according to Joseph Kitchin, writing in a recent number of the *Review of Economic Statistics*, is likely to be maintained at the level reached in 1928 until about 1940, after which signs point to a considerable decline in the annual rate of production. A declining gold supply means, of course, a falling world price level, and falling prices usually entail periods of depression. Any means by which such results can be avoided are, therefore, to be earnestly sought after, and the proposed International Bank does provide a means for securing economy in the use of gold in international transactions. As a favorable factor in the longer term outlook, the progress toward the establishment of the new world bank is therefore one of, if not the, most important.

Another favorable factor is the growing strength of the movement which has been popularly termed the Americanization of

Europe. Some European countries in recent years have made almost a fetish of American production methods, and the progress of these countries toward greater industrial efficiency, higher wages and higher living standards has been very rapid indeed. The further spread of this movement is likely, although the rate of progress at the moment is being hindered by lack of capital, due to the present—but let us hope temporary—credit stringency. Even this latter deterrent is being overcome to some extent, however, by the marked tendency of American capital to flow into foreign enterprises, not so much in recent months by the traditional method of purely investment buying of foreign securities as by the purchase outright by American capitalists of going concerns in foreign countries or the establishment of new companies to operate on American productive principles. Examples of this movement are the purchase this year of the Opel automobile plant in Germany by the General Motors Corporation and the establishment by Ford and other motor car manufacturers of plants in several European countries.

Such direct and open invasion of foreign markets tends, however, to arouse political antagonism, as shown by the recent efforts of a prominent British company to restrict voting rights among its shareholders to British subjects. The political situation itself, moreover, is uncertain in many countries; and financial difficulties have recently cropped out elsewhere. A serious crisis was averted in Austria only last month when strong financial interests succeeded in preventing a panic which for a time threatened to result from the failure of a large Vienna bank. Australia, to take another example, is reported to have experienced difficulty in floating government loans recently, not only because of stringent conditions in world money markets, but also as a result of unwise fiscal policies doubtless having their basis in what at times seem to be the inevitable consequences of popular government.

Another unfavorable factor in the outlook for world prosperity is tariff uncertainty and in this respect the United States can scarcely be said to be contributing much help toward a solution of one of the greatest problems. European nations for the first time in history are making a genuine effort to get together for the purpose of eliminating trade barriers, but in the United States the party in power seems bent on a further increase in import duties, which are already so high as seriously to hamper the repayment by Europe of interest and principal on war debts, as well as the settlement of commercial transactions.

There are thus many signs of improvement in world trade and industry, but there are also many readjustments ahead before a full measure of prosperity can be realized.

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